

TWELVE YEARS'  
WANDERINGS.  
IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.

FROM 1835 TO 1847.

BY J. C. BYRNE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:  
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

*Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.*

1848.

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FIRST VOLUME.

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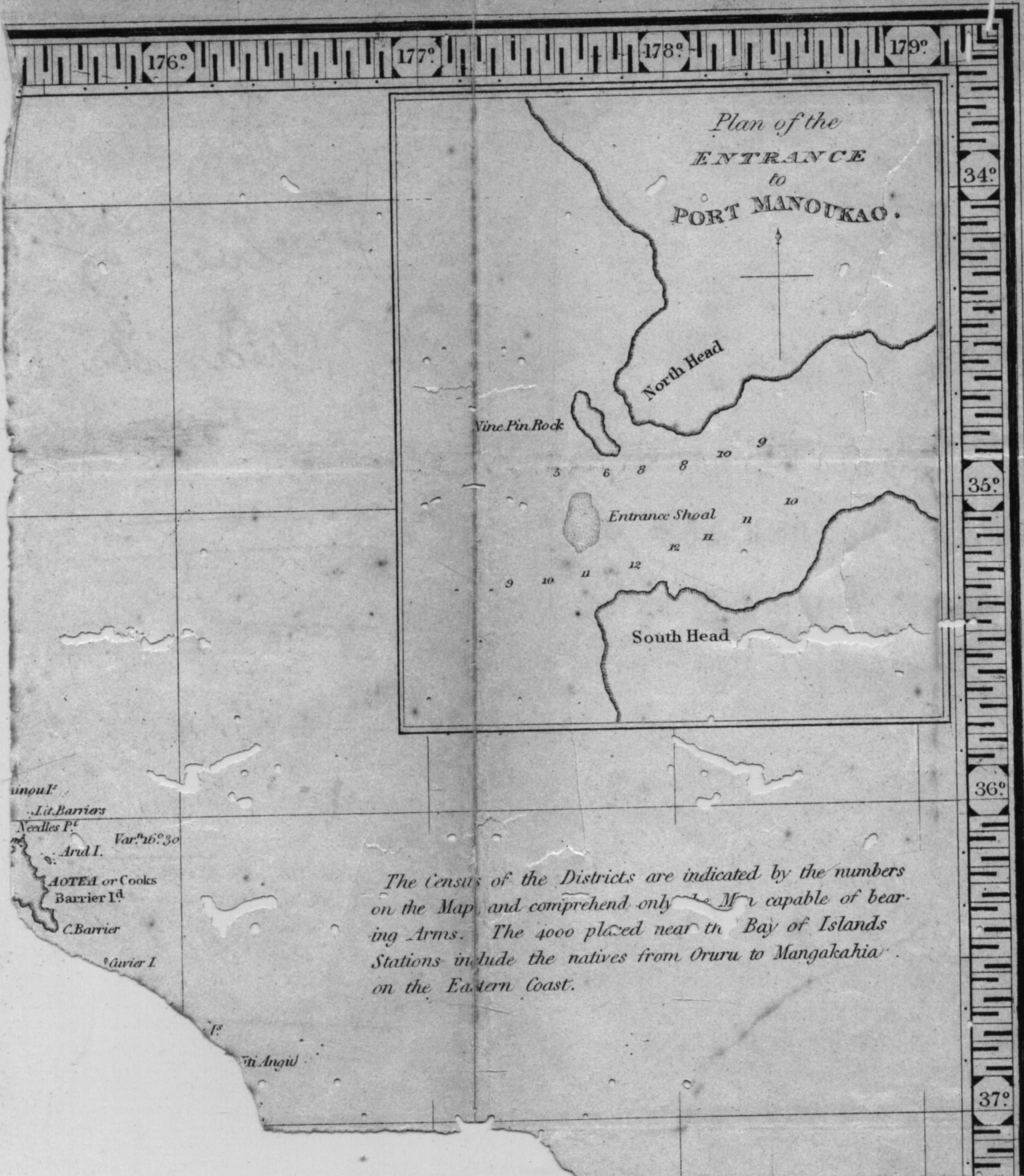
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## TWELVE YEARS' WANDERINGS

IN

## THE BRITISH COLONIES.

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### GENERAL REMARKS ON EMIGRATION.

AT no period has emigration ever occupied a greater share of public attention, than it is likely to do during the year 1848.

Acknowledged in the past Session of Parliament as a measure of great importance towards the amelioration of the position of the lower classes, particularly amongst the Irish, it is almost certain to be largely promoted by ministerial measures during the Session of 1848. Yet, although for years past, thousands on thousands have annually left the shores of Great Britain and Ireland, to seek a home in distant climes, it is a fact, but too well established, that the greater portion of those who have thus left their native soil, have done so without being in the least acquainted with the real condition and prospects of the land which they have chosen for their future home, in order to better their condition.

From time to time a rage or mania has prevailed for emigration to different places, as circumstances or the



writings of individuals—too frequently interested—have attracted attention to them. One year Canada, another the Western States of America, then South Australia, New South Wales, New Zealand, each in rotation ; again, Canada and the States have been, and are now, the chief points. “ Anywhere is better than home,” is too frequently the saying of the intending emigrant, who often cares little for, and knows less of, the country to which he is bound, being at the time too well satisfied at escaping from the harassing competition in every profession, trade and calling, experienced at home.

The die once cast, it is almost impossible to recal it, so if the climate, habits or prospects of the place do not suit the immigrant, change is generally out of the question ; and a course thus adopted in ignorance, is mourned in experience, and expiated by continued struggles through life, or an early death from the effects of the climate.

Of these facts, thousands of well authenticated instances exist ; and not one seat of immigration, either under the dominion of the United States, or the jurisdiction of the British Crown, but could furnish too many examples of persons who if they had taken time for consideration, and decided with prudence on their proper place of destination, through its adaptability to their own position and means, might have become prosperous and happy members of the society amongst which they cast their lot, instead of being a burthen to the community and a bar to its prosperity.

It is with the desire of affording general information with regard to the manners, habits, customs, and prospects of the many seats of immigration, together with particulars

of the climate, rates of wages, and value of property in each, that the author offers the following observations.

The knowledge communicated and the facts explained, are not collected from the information of others, but are the results of personal experience, the author having travelled and dwelt in almost every British colony under the Crown, as well as in various parts of the United States of America.

Almost every similar work that has been published, separately treats of one country or colony, to which the knowledge of the writer is confined. Of that alone he necessarily treats, that alone he holds forth as the most advisable and judicious place for the emigrant to proceed to. There, it generally happens, his lot is cast; perhaps his family is settled; there, all he possesses being invested in his new home, the prospects of the place are identical with his own; *labour is capital* in a new or thinly peopled country, and that, for his own benefit, he seeks to draw to his abode.

Induced by cheering representations, others inconsiderately follow in his steps. They find too late that they have chosen a country unsuited to them; they have landed in a distant clime with ideas foreign to it, with prejudices or opinions which take time to eradicate; so that if they originally possess means, these vanish before they become perfectly conscious of the realities passing around them.

The habits and prejudices of old settled countries, are, most generally, sad bars to success in new ones; to be successful as an immigrant or colonist, caution, some experience, energy, perseverance and industry are absolutely necessary. The comforts of "home" must, at least for a

time, be given up; and all classes of persons, to secure ultimate success as colonists or settlers, should be fully prepared to endure privation and fatigue of no slight description; it may be their lot to find their bed at the foot of some giant tenant of a vast forest, or within the walls of a hut, through which the chill blasts of winter penetrate, as well as the summer sun's scorching rays.

At present, there is scarce a colony under the British Crown, which does not swarm with half-pay, or retired, officers of the army, or navy; they are to be found amidst the forests of New Brunswick, and Upper Canada, and at the Antipodes in Australia, and New Zealand.

From a strange idea that seems to have pervaded the policy of the British Colonial Office for years past, almost all the Governors of colonies are appointed from amongst the military and naval services; consequently, it is not surprising to see the junior branches of these services, monopolising a very great proportion of the government situations of any value in our colonies.

From their habits of discipline and the ideas imbibed in their profession, it would be hard to find a class of men less fitted to fill the Legislative and Executive departments of a new and rising colony. Their education renders them essentially unfit to direct or control the free enterprising spirit which actuates the pioneers of civilization:—military subordination is not compatible with free colonization.

Nor yet is this class of persons better fitted to become settlers; find them where you will, they are anything but successful in this capacity.

In Australia particularly, although there are hundreds on hundreds of persons who have been officers in the army or

navy, yet, it is a question if a dozen instances of considerable success, as settlers, can be adduced from amongst them.

This is not only owing to their original habits and manners in the army; but is in a great measure the consequence of the ignorance with which they enter upon the new life they have embraced: neglecting, in the first instance, before embarking upon their career, to study well, and procure every information with regard to the natural and social peculiarities of the country they have adopted.

Among the great seats of immigration, the Crown Colonies in Australia, the British possessions in North America, and the United States, are the chief.

Of these, the most advisable for an emigrant, or, at least, those most in favour, are, Canada, New Brunswick, the southern and western States of America, the Cape of Good Hope, or Southern Africa, Van Dieman's Land, Swan River, South Australia, Port Phillip, or Australia Felix, New South Wales, and New Zealand. Amongst these, there is a large field for choice, for they comprise almost every description of climate and soil.

South America, moreover, presents a vast extent, to many parts of which colonization might be well directed, if property and life were more secure, governments more powerful, and political revolutions less frequent there. In Chili, many thousand emigrants, natives of Great Britain or Ireland, have found a prosperous and happy home amongst the valleys at the foot of the Andes, and the result has been the improvement of their adopted land, and

paraiso, now the great *entrepôt* on the western shores of South America. But, liable to sudden political revolutions and to desolating earthquakes, South America does not approach many of the British colonies in advantages presented to the emigrant. The author will endeavour, to the best of his ability, to set forth the advantages and disadvantages of each of those great seats of immigration, their true social position, prospects, and climate, so that all intending emigrants may be the better able to come to a decision as to which is the best place for them to settle in and most suited to their means and requirements.

Emigration, when conducted with prudence, is a public blessing; while it relieves the home country of superabundant members of the producing classes, it also creates a market for the produce of our looms and manufactories. It promotes the prosperity of thousands who, if they continued in their fatherland, would, from excessive competition, be merely able to eke out a miserable existence—ending their days, perhaps, in the receipt of public or private charity.

Such a fate as this, is, as a rule, impossible in any one of the countries before named. With no rates or taxes levied on the articles necessary for subsistence; with land cheap because plentiful, and the produce of that land, in the shape of animal food and agricultural produce, vastly lower in price than at home; industry cannot fail in procuring not only present means of ample support, but, with perseverance, ultimate prosperity; so that instead of ending his life in a workhouse, the labouring emigrant in most places, in his old age, has the happiness of seeing around him his offspring prosperous and contented, free-

holders of the soil on which they dwell in substantial comfort and independence.

The struggle for existence of the lower and middle classes, at home, annually becomes more difficult as population increases and wealth consolidates in the hands of those already rich. The prosperity of the mass of the population is very seldom advanced in any country which encourages the growth of enormous wealth amongst a few individuals. The struggle between capital and labour then becomes unequal; and no matter whether cotton lords, iron lords, railway lords, merchant princes, or the aristocracy of land are in the ascendant, the result is still the same: the further centralization of wealth amongst those already in possession of it.

Free trade in corn may at present, and even for the future, lead to cheap bread, which will enable the producer to exist on a lower scale of pay, but cannot materially reduce the price of animal food, and those other articles of general use which the masses have brought themselves to consider absolute necessities. Consequently, as the price of meat increases, it gradually becomes out of the power of the mechanic or labourer to obtain it; his scale of diet is thus compressed, former wants are becoming luxuries, and as population and competition increase, all that will be attainable will be the cheapest articles of human food sufficient to prolong the thread of life, and enable him for weary years to bear his manual toil. Who then, with those facts before them, would or should hesitate to seek in emigration better hopes and prospects, and a country where the proprietary of soil is not confined to certain classes, or the food of man, bestowed by a benevolent Providence, consumed only by the rich?



But even in the remedy suggested, there are evils, when not carried out with prudence and foresight. An over-extensive system of emigration to any one place may produce the very evils from which the voyager is flying; disease and death at sea from over-crowded, badly ventilated ships, are also too often the fate of the emigrant, and too much caution cannot be exercised in guarding against such contingencies. Resolved on with care, and a knowledge of your adopted land, a determination to emigrate should be carried out with system and discretion, and to that end the writer will endeavour to direct the reader.

It is not every description of persons that would profit by emigration. There are classes and individuals who had much better remain at home, if they can obtain a living there. In many of the colonies, young medical and other professional men are to be found in great excess, and consequently disappointment, misfortune and want are their lot, until absolute necessity compel them to become "drawers of water and hewers of wood" in the true meaning of the words. The writer has in numberless instances met men, who could eloquently quote law authorities and descant on medicine, employed in "felling and burning off," or watching sheep and driving bullocks; law, medicine, or classics, have but few patrons in new countries.

Clerks, or men who have received a middling education, and have been employed in the counting-houses of merchants or shop-keepers at home, are very much too apt to surrender the comforts and advantages they enjoy, to take the chance of high salaries, and what is sanguinely thought, certain success, in the colonies.

As a general rule, clerks, with the sober, steady, matter-of-fact ideas they imbibe at the desk, are not a class of men at all suited, either to advance themselves, or promote the interests of new colonies. Besides, the demand for their services is always so much less than the supply is capable of meeting, that the rate of remuneration is *always low* when employment can be obtained. The principal reason that renders employment for men of education, as assistants or clerks, so limited, admits of easy explanation.

There does not exist in any colony, those extensive mercantile concerns, manufacturing establishments, or large shops that require such numerous assistants as at home. A merchant or a shop-keeper in a colony, is generally able to transact his own business, or find within his immediate family the means of doing so, as far as accounts are concerned; and if he should require assistants, he is but too likely to seek them amongst those born in the colony, or from those who have resided in it some time, as from local knowledge they are much more likely to suit him. In all old communities where aggregate wealth is considerable, the professional or educated man or clerk without capital is likely to find a market and demand for what is to him his capital, viz.: his profession or education; but in a new colony there is but little chance for him.

Professional men, no doubt, in some instances, succeed extremely well in the colonies; but these form the exception, and not the rule; connexion, capital, great talents and enterprising character, may raise them to comparative wealth and respectability, but the field is limited, competition extreme. Clerks also, no doubt, in some few



instances, from fortuitous circumstances, have succeeded in getting large salaries, but this is indeed seldom. More frequently, although remuneration for labour may be in a particular colony extremely high, yet the clerk does not benefit by it: he is but too often rated below even the labourer, and not paid so well.

The writer has been in colonies, at periods, when a clerk could be obtained for thirty shillings a week, while six shillings a day was paid to common labouring men or thirty-six shillings a week. It may be said: why should not the clerk then turn to labour? but this is not of such easy accomplishment. Will the man, perhaps, with a delicate and refined wife and family, willingly surrender old habits, the accustomed mode of obtaining his livelihood, or consent to submit to menial toil, "work," in its true sense, delving or ploughing the earth, unless starvation compel him? Will the educated man find happiness and contentment amongst such an ignorant body of companions as labourers in the colonies usually are—had he not better remain at home if he have any kind of a prospect of obtaining a livelihood for himself and his family? Let him, if he will, bring his children up to industry and enterprize, and when of a suitable age ship them off, on their own hands, for the colonies or Western America; they may accomplish what he could not.

It should be always kept in view by those intending to emigrate, that on bidding adieu to the shores of Britain, they must leave behind them for years to come, those comforts and luxuries they may have been accustomed to.

mitted to by all, even the wealthiest emigrants ; money cannot procure what they have left behind in emigrating.

On the other hand, with industry, the fee-simple of the soil on which they live may be theirs, and all the *necessaries* of life are to be had immeasurably cheaper than at home in *any colony* or general seat of immigration ; no poor-house stares the decayed person in the face ; plentiful food can in most colonies always be obtained for labour.

Tradesmen and mechanics are not unfrequently much astray in choosing a country to settle in, or in fact in emigrating at all. The demand for them in the colonies or new countries, such as the backwoods of Canada or the Western States, is always limited ; in fact, many trades are not at all required amongst newly formed communities. Those principally in requisition are, carpenters, joiners, wheelwrights, masons, bricklayers, blacksmiths, shoemakers and tailors.

Yet shoemakers and tailors have always to compete with imported slop goods, which much lessens the demand for their services. Compositors, upholsterers, painters, glaziers, engineers, coopers, cabinet-makers, plasterers, millers, cutlers, and numerous other trades, gradually follow in the steps of the first named. They are only wanted where collective communities are formed : a plasterer, upholsterer or painter's services, are not required very often in a log hut or bush wooden-house. Tradesmen possess facilities of emigration that are entirely out of the reach of the labouring classes, and are consequently too often to be found in the colonies in disproportion to the wants of the community.

Previous to the year 1840, such was the demand that existed for mechanics and journeymen of all kinds of trade, in the Australian colonies, that extremely high wages were paid in consequence, and the most flattering accounts were forwarded to Great Britain and Ireland, to induce such persons to emigrate. At that period, carpenters, joiners, and masons, were receiving in Sydney ten to twelve shillings a day. In Port Phillip it was still higher; carpenters were there, in many instances, receiving one pound per day; and it was no wonder they represented eagerly to their friends at home the El Dorado they had found. Adelaide also paid equally high for tradesmen's labour. The consequence may easily be foreseen. The bounty system which gave free passage to these colonies was then being carried out to a large extent; and although a government regulation precluded free passages being afforded to more than a certain proportion of trades and crafts, yet this qualification was easily evaded, and an immense proportion of this class, in comparison with agricultural labourers or shepherds, introduced. They left England nominally as shepherds or labourers, but on arrival in the colonies, soon appeared in their true capacity. This was in addition to many who had legitimately gone out, paying their own passage, and such became the supply, that in 1843, the author saw hundreds of tradesmen and mechanics employed on the streets of Sydney and Melbourne; (the former the capital of New South Wales, the latter of Australia Felix), at one shilling per day wages.

Thousands at the same period, including persons of every trade and craft, even carpenters and masons (who

were in most general employment), petitioned the legislature, to assist them in removing from colonies where they could not obtain work, and to which they had been seduced by false statements, contained in pamphlets and books, many of which were published with the sanction of the authorities at home, and extracts from them actually made use of by Emigration Agents, to induce them to leave their homes.

But four years have elapsed since the author has seen the approaches to Government House at Sydney so thronged with an excited mass of disappointed, unemployed immigrants of the above class, venting their reproaches on the Government who had aided in alluring them to a place where they could obtain no work, that the military had to be held in readiness to disperse, if necessary, with the bayonet, those very individuals on whom so much trouble and money had been spent to bring them to the colonies.

These examples should act as a warning and check on every mechanic or journeyman, and induce him to decide well before he emigrates to any colony or new country. Imagine the change that many individuals of this class were at that period subjected to, in the fertile and productive settlement of Port Phillip ! Such was the demand for labour in the year 1840, that employers had to *beg* of carpenters, in many cases, to come and work for them at sixteen shillings to one pound per day ; whilst in 1843, carpenters and other tradesmen had to *beg* employment on the streets at one shilling per day, and at that rate even it could only be obtained, if they were able to show that a large family of children depended on them for support ! • These

the beginning of 1844, nearly three thousand persons, chiefly tradesmen and mechanics, actually left Sydney alone for the West Coast of South America, principally for Valparaiso and Lima. Greater part of those persons had been introduced into New South Wales, by funds derived from the Crown Lands, so their labour being lost, by departure for other countries, the colony derived no actual benefit from the expenditure of so large a sum of money drawn from their pockets as the introduction of such a number of persons must have required.

Yet that very Port Phillip and Sydney, from whence so many tradesmen and mechanics had to depart through want of employment, or any prospect of it, in 1843 and 1844, are now clamouring loudly for mechanics and labourers of all kinds, holding forth long lists of persons required, and the rates of wages attainable by such; this, too, in the very places where, three years since, one shilling a day on the public streets was procured with difficulty.

These facts too plainly exhibit a total want of system in emigration as carried out at present, and without well-matured plans, no extensive scale of national or private emigration can ever be successful; the same scenes that took place in 1843, in the Australian colonies, will constantly be recurring.

What does a Port Phillip paper of March, 1847, say? and how strongly does the fact exhibit deplorable mismanagement in the previous Government of these colonies, and the conduct of emigration thither?

“A fortnight since, a settler named Allen, from the Western Port district, endeavoured to engage labour in

Melbourne. The wages he offered were one guinea per week, three months constant employment, with flour, mutton, beef, and tea and sugar *ad libitum*, to supply the personal wants of the labourer. He was unable to procure on these terms a single hand; the objections, however ludicrous they were and may appear, are as follows:— One fellow refused to engage, because his oatmeal (which he preferred to flour) would not be boiled in new milk; and another, because a portion of his rations would be fresh beef instead of mutton. Such examples are worth a thousand essays. We do not consider we can more appropriately conclude these remarks, than by subjoining a table of the current rates of wages in the colony.”

The Editor then proceeds to lay a statement before his readers, by which it would appear that journeymen of all kinds of trades, and mechanics, are in receipt of wages varying from six to nine shillings per day, with full employment, whilst shepherds, stockmen and labourers receive from £25 to £35 per annum, besides full support; female servants are set down at £25, male servants £30 per annum; men and their wives £45; and grooms £70, all with support.

What a contrast does this not offer to Canada and our North American possession, flooded with thousands of half-starved diseased Irish, seeking a place of refuge from their fatherland!

Upwards of 50,000 emigrants landed in Canada last year, previously to the end of July, a space of little more than four months, from the opening of the St. Lawrence, at the commencement of spring. There the labourer



had been some time in these colonies was reduced considerably.

Yet Canada possesses peculiar facilities, owing to the cheapness of land and the small farm system, for absorbing all the labour that is thrown into it; but, with all these, without system, immigration in these countries as well as in others, becomes at times an evil instead of a blessing. One year too great a supply of labour in a particular place, the next none; at one time any remuneration for work done, at another no work to be got, but what may be obtained by petition on the roads or streets, at the lowest possible scale of pay.

All this exemplifies equally to the capitalist, tradesman, mechanic, or labourer, the necessity of inquiring carefully, and resolving with prudence before he decides on any particular place to emigrate to.

The man of money will soon cease to be a capitalist, if he settles in a colony or country where he has to pay more for gathering his crops, or tending his flocks, or clearing his land, than the returns will justify; continued trenching on the principal, will, before long, absorb it all.

The tradesman and mechanic will, in all probability, have to deplore the hour when the comforts and employment of fatherland were left behind, if they bend their steps towards a colony, whither a mania for emigration has set in; excessive competition may, and does at times exist in new as well as old countries, and they may therefore be for years perfectly unable to obtain that employment and remuneration they seek, or which they left at home.

his choice; although in his case, any removal from home must benefit himself and his family, because in a new colony mere labour must be more valuable than in old countries, where the bare necessities of life are all that this class can obtain.

Yet, although it is easy to recommend inquiry, prudence, and information, before any person resolves to cast his lot for life in any particular land, and abandon home, the author is but too well aware of the difficulty that has existed in procuring ample and correct information with respect to any stated place.

In all new countries and colonies, the local press, which must be the great source of information, is so certain to magnify everything connected with its own locality, that, as a general rule, but little dependence can be placed on what it advances, and particularly on the tabular statements of wages it from time to time publishes. It may seem strange that a respectable journal should advance statements, open to contradiction on the spot, but to those who know the colonies well, it is an ascertained fact, that such is continually done, and persevered in with impunity.

Where all are equally interested in pushing a new country or colony, few will be found to find fault with the pen that exaggerates, or paints in vivid colours, the position and prospects of their adopted land. Besides, individual cases may and do exist in many colonies, where tradesmen, mechanics, and others are in receipt of very high wages, but under particular circumstances. At the same time, in the same colony, there are frequently numbers of persons of the same trade or calling, who can absolutely procure



no employment whatsoever; there is no need of them; yet the local papers of the place publish a table of wages, setting down all at the maximum price that perhaps, a few individuals are obtaining, when others are totally idle. Thus, the only fact that is made known to those at home, who think of emigrating, is, that eight, nine, or ten shillings per day is paid to a joiner, carpenter, mason, or coach-builder, as the case may be.

In an interview the writer had in the month of August with a person extensively connected with the colonies, no less than the names of twenty-seven individuals were consecutively stated to him, all of whom were at home for the purpose of advocating, by their pens or otherwise, the interests of the particular colonies with which they were connected, all of course endeavouring to make their own case the brightest of the lot. Discernment may well be said to be required in rooting out true information, from the glowing drapery in which it is dressed by the pens of those so anxious to advocate the place they are connected with.

The writer having spent twelve years in traversing the greater part of the globe, feels himself particularly qualified to lay before the public many facts connected with the colonies and the other seats of emigration, and much general information, which cannot fail of being of material assistance to all who think of trying their fortune, and casting their lot in other and distant lands.

To the labouring classes, generally, emigration *must* prove a blessing, but to many others, disappointment and regret may be the result, if care and prudence, com-

bined with information, do not guide them in their resolve.

But in most colonies or new countries, the man who goes out with a determination to "look well," on arrival, "before he leaps;" to be well informed before he engages in anything; and when he has adopted a course, to follow it out with perseverance and industry, prepared for rough or smooth, as they may turn up; that man must eventually succeed, and improve his condition by the change. Home ideas, however, must at once on arrival in a colony be thrown aside, and the immigrant be prepared to fall into the ways of those amongst whom he has settled, perhaps for life. But if care be necessary in deciding on a place to emigrate to, still more is it requisite to guard the immigrant, on arrival in his adopted land, from the machinations and designs of the unprincipled.

There are in all newly settled countries many who live by the ignorance and credulity of the immigrant; but it is not alone such persons who take advantage of that want of knowledge. The land owner, the land agent, the stock owner, the employer of the labourer, are all too ready to take advantage of new arrivals; everything is represented by them to suit the interest of the *informant*. Land in particular localities is praised; town sections held forth as investments that cannot fail to be profitable; cattle and sheep *must* make the fortune of the buyer in a few years; whilst even the employer endeavours to take advantage of such as have only their trade or labour to depend on, to make good agreements.

As a general rule, no immigrant should, either pre-

viously to his leaving home, or immediately on arrival in his adopted land, take any step seriously to affect his future prospects or position. He should hear with incredulity those representations that are made to him by the interested on his first arrival; and should quietly set himself down, with his pockets buttoned tightly up, so that none of his substance may disappear, until those individuals who first beset him to induce the investment of his capital in *their* land, cattle, town lots or farms, become tired of unsuccessful importunities, and turn their attention towards netting other "flats."

The tradesman, or mechanic even, should not, on first arrival, make any lengthened engagement. Tyrannical masters, and unhealthy or dangerous situations, may fall to their lot, or, as is very generally the case, reduced wages; this is not of much importance, if the engagement is only for a limited term.

With regard to men of money who emigrate, they experience many difficulties to their advantageous settlement. On his first arrival, a person of this class brings with him a few hundred, or a few thousand pounds, as the case may be, and, perhaps, letters of introduction to merchants or respectable settlers. As a natural consequence, the merchant or settler is asked for his advice as to the future settlement of the immigrant, who states the amount of his capital, to guide the person applied to, in giving his advice.

The old colonist probably has land, sheep, cattle, or town allotments, or some debtor or friend may have; and they are anxious to dispose of such. This is a good oppor-



tunity ; the new arrival comes to be plucked, and it is soon effected. Lands, cattle, sheep, town allotments, or "runs" in a new country, are held up, as it may suit the adviser, as investments that cannot fail amply to repay the buyer, and the unfortunate victim is gulled into the purchase of land under water, or with no water at all near it ; or, perhaps, a stone waste, that would take a hundred acres to feed a beast upon ; or a town allotment, that may in some half century become of the value they are induced to give for it ; or scabby sheep, and old barren ewes, afflicted with the foot rot ; or cattle of a bad cross breed, and wild as the buffalos of the Pampas, are passed off upon them at three times their value. This is no exaggerated statement : it is a thing of every-day occurrence in new countries ; aye, even still worse, for there have been not a few instances in which flocks and herds that did not exist, or lands to which there was no claim or title whatsoever, have been sold to the deluded immigrant : a few such instances the writer will relate.

The scene of one was in a Yankee-Notion Store, at St. Louis, on the Mississippi. The store owner who sold everything, from a grubbing axe to needles, lace and muslin, was also agent to a land company, who had purchased from the State an immense block of land on one of the tributaries of the Mississippi, considerably to the westward of St. Louis.

The agent spared no exertion in puffing, to realize his commission on sales by the disposal of part of this land speculation. Business of another kind had brought the writer to this worthy's store ; and, when he entered,

there was the dealer, eloquently descanting on water privileges, and the various kinds of timber, which he assured two young men existed in abundance on the advantageous district he had on sale. A map was produced of the property, divided into sections and allotments of every possible size and shape, nicely coloured and delineated.

It was evident that the two companions of the Yankee were new importations, or more properly speaking, immigrants with means, who were pushing westward in search of land, and they appeared to have been taken with the advertisements and puffs of the agent. With much inducement, they allowed themselves to be prevailed on to conclude the purchase, on the spot, of six hundred acres, at the rate of one dollar, and twenty-five cents (5s. 3d.) per acre, which was to be paid for in cash at once; but in case they required more land, and approved of their present purchase on seeing it, they were to be indulged with a long credit for such extension, merely paying a small deposit in the first instance. The money was paid, and a draft of the title was made out, to which was appended a map of the section purchased, with full description as to boundaries, &c., which were accurately defined; and the purchasers departed from the store, expressing their intention to proceed at once to inspect their purchase, which was distant some three hundred miles.

The Yankee turned his attention to the writer, when they had left, and "guessed" I would do "a considerable good thing," if I would purchase a lot of the same block; but, finding persuasion in vain, "reckoned" that he had

done a pretty fair day's work in making the sale, and proposed to "liquor" over it. To humour his whim, the writer accompanied the agent to the bar of an hotel, and there discussed "mint julep." Conversation turned on the land lately sold, and the Yankee acknowledged he had never seen it, nor had any correct description of it; but that it had been roughly surveyed in a mass, three years before, and from the outline of this survey, a map had been drawn, dividing it into sections, allotments, &c. Of course it was his business to describe it in the most glowing colours, for he got twenty per cent on the sales he made; he had no doubt the purchasers would find out what kind of land it was themselves. And they did so to their cost: for within a month they returned to St. Louis, anathematizing the agent, and venting all possible opprobrious terms on Yankees in general.

It appeared that when they did, after great difficulty, discover the locality of their purchase, it was found to be many miles removed from human habitations, and chiefly to consist of a low marsh and lagoon, covered with water three parts of the year; and on the whole concern, there did not appear to be as much elevated ground as would suffice to erect a house upon!

The result is easily foreseen; the purchasers were only too anxious to get rid of land, or rather water, which they had been in such a hurry to obtain; and as none could be found willing to become purchasers, they assigned their entire right, title, and estate in the "lot" to the agent back again, for the consideration of one hundred dollars, being something like one eighth of the original purchase money.

All over the States and Canada, there are jobbing land companies, having agents in the chief towns, who puff up and misrepresent land—in reality, perhaps, of no value—merely for the purpose of securing their commission, whilst there is no redress for their unfortunate victims. In Australia, similar transactions, and, perhaps, even worse, frequently occur.

In 1839, there was, in Sydney, a Mr. W——, who was the principal auctioneer in New South Wales; and his hammer daily announced the disposal of “inimitable” town and country allotments, and sheep and cattle of the best breeds the colony boasted of.

Day after day, his mart was crowded with hundreds of new arrivals, anxious to participate in the advantages of the good things that were there being disposed of. On one occasion, there was an extensive sheep station, beyond the boundaries, on New England Plains, to be sold, with two thousand sheep. It was a “most eligible opportunity for the man who wished to realize vast wealth in a few years;” at least, Mr. W—— assured his audience of that fact. There was no necessity to purchase land in this instance, a Government license for temporary occupation was all that was necessary, and this only cost ten pounds, and would be transferred with the sheep to the “fortunate purchaser.” The inducements set forth were strong, and the hammer fell, making M——, a lately arrived immigrant, with capital, the purchaser, at the rate of twenty-one shillings per head for the sheep, “station given in.” Ten per cent deposit was paid on the spot, and the balance, which, with the deposit, amounted to two thousand, one hundred and ninety-three pounds, made good within a



week, on which the purchaser received an order on a person, said to be the overseer of the station, for its delivery with the sheep up to Mr. M——, on exhibiting the order.

Before commencing sheep farming, it was necessary that he should provide a team of bullocks, a dray, a horse for himself and shepherds to tend the flocks, with a supply of tea, sugar, salt, slops for the men, &c., before proceeding to take possession. All these, by advice, Mr. M—— furnished himself with, and then started for New England Plains. Arrived at the small river or creek on which the station was said to exist, inquiry was made for it, but in vain; up and down, the creek was traversed for the space of upwards of three weeks, but no such sheep or such station as Mr. M—— had bought, existed in that vicinity. It must have been a mistake, the name of the creek must have been wrongly given by the clerks. So M—— resolved to return on horseback to Sydney, to have the matter corrected and set to rights, leaving his three men camped with the dray and supplies, in the neighbourhood of an out station, till he returned. •

• Some days after, he arrived at Sydney, and at once proceeded to Mr. W——'s mart; but lo! the doors are closed,—business there seems suspended. What can be the reason?—Has death deprived New South Wales of its *finished* auctioneer? A passer-by solved the difficulty. A week before, a brig, called the "Nereus," belonging to W——, cleared out and sailed with her assorted trading cargo. The auctioneer determined to see it off, rode down to his wharf, and went on board the



steamer which towed the Nereus out to sea, from whence he changed his quarters into the brig herself, and bade a hasty adieu to his friends on board the steamer, regretting the impossibility of giving notice of his departure to his Sydney *friends*.

The steamer returned with the news, and found a man on the wharf, holding W——'s pony, awaiting its master's appearance ; creditors became alarmed, indignant, and, finally, after too long a hesitation, despatched a vessel in pursuit, which returned unsuccessful. The sequel is soon told, the station and sheep that had been sold to Mr. M——, existed only in the brain of the auctioneer, and the two thousand pounds that had been paid became a dead loss.

These two examples should serve as a warning to emigrants. It is impossible to foresee the drift of the designing ; and there are so many ways in which they may exercise their talents, not only as regards the disposal of permanent settlements, but in exacting out of the way prices for lodging, carriage, travelling, &c. As an established rule, the emigrant should always take particular care to learn, from the owner or manager of small inns or lodging houses, what his real charge is, not only for the emigrant's own accommodation, but also for the storage of his luggage, as 'extensive imposition is frequently resorted to in Canada and the States under this head.

In many parts of Canada and the United States, it would be well for emigrants to apply for information, either regarding land or labour, to societies existing on the spot, whose object is to protect and guide the new comer.

Where the agents of these societies are to be found, is easily learned through the publicity that is attached to them. No charge for information is made, but the applicant is informed with civility of the description of land in certain districts, and its average price; he is instructed in the best mode of making purchases, and is directed where his labour or trade, as the case may be, is likely to meet the best market. All this is peculiarly advantageous to the emigrant, as no guide book could furnish particulars that are necessarily altering every few months.

Not only do the "touters," or agents of hotels or lodging houses, hang about and canvass emigrants on first arrival, particularly in America; but runners, connected with different lines of conveyance, rail, steam-boat and coach, press and intrude themselves, each advocating their "line," and praising in glowing colours the demand for labour and artizans, that exists in the vicinity whither their conveyances run. It often happens, that the ignorant person is thus induced to journey to a place where a demand for labour is said to exist, on canals, railroads, &c., when such is not at all the case; his fare is that which is aimed at, and when obtained, the victim is left to shift for himself as he best can.

It is too frequently the case, that both monied men and the producing classes, hang about the great towns, near the sea-board, after their arrival in America. This cannot be too strongly deprecated; in leaving fatherland, they seek new countries, where the excessive competition existing at home is not to be met with; but if they remain in the large cities of the States, they will soon

find as much difficulty in either successfully applying labour or capital, as in the country they have left. This caution is applicable to most emigrants, except such as are shipwrights, or artizans of those superior trades not in demand in newly settled places, and who may obtain employment in the more luxurious cities of the Eastern States, whose inhabitants are wealthier, and more accustomed to artificial wants, than the denizens of the forests and prairies of the "far West."

Large numbers, thousands in fact, of Irish immigrants annually arrive in the various American cities, who, on landing, are possessed of no means whatsoever to convey them into the interior. Of necessity, those persons hang about the towns where they first arrived, and tend materially to reduce the price of labour. Competition, with a class of persons who must either receive what is offered them as compensation for their labour, or starve, is of course to be avoided, and that can only be effected by seeking the interior, where a wide field is offered for every class.

It is frequently represented to emigrants, that it is not advisable to take British money with them, and in lieu of this, American bank-notes or private bills of exchange, are palmed off upon them by emigrant agents. Too much caution cannot be exercised in this matter. American bank-notes of every kind should be avoided: many of them are of no value, the banks having failed years ago; others are questionable in their value, particularly if the possessor tries to pass them out of the State where the bank is situated, a considerable discount, up to ten per

cent, being then charged. Private bills of exchange are also, except to well-informed men, dubious matters, and even they too often suffer loss by this mode of conveying money from one country to another.

British money, both sovereigns and Bank of England notes, is convertible without loss in America or the colonies; sovereigns, indeed, frequently command a premium. If the sum is small, emigrants should always convey their capital in gold; if large, Bank of England notes, or *bankers'* bills (of eminence) should be resorted to. The writer has, while in the colonies, had to give a premium on Bank of England notes to remit to England. Commissariat bills from the colonies always command a premium, and they are no better security than bank-notes, if the latter are forwarded separately to their destination, and with proper precautions. In all parts of the world, a British sovereign will pass for its full home value; but if conveyed by emigrants in large sums to distant lands, gold should always be insured, which can be effected at a much lower rate than any kind of merchandize. Many might imagine that when any one carries gold with him, there is little necessity for insurance, as there would be but a small probability of its being lost, without his sharing its fate: the following instance will prove the contrary.

In 1841, the emigrant bark, "*India*," bound for Port Phillip, accidentally caught fire, when but a short distance to the southward of the line. There were a large number of passengers and bounty emigrants on board. Fortunately a French whaler hove in sight, and sent her boats to the assistance of the burning ship, but such was the rapidity

of the flames, and the number of the passengers, that before they could be taken off by the boats, many were destroyed by fire, or had to take refuge in the sea from that element. Amongst the latter was a gentleman named A——, who having with him upwards of three hundred sovereigns in cash, had secured it about his person on the first alarm. The fire had driven him into the fore chains, and at last compelled him to abandon even that place and take the water, trusting to a small spar to support him until picked up; but in vain, the spar was not sufficient to counterbalance the weight of the gold, and as a last resource, Mr. A—— had to abandon his grasp of the treasure, and let it sink into the bosom of the deep, a total loss, because uninsured. He himself was soon afterwards picked up by one of the whale boats, and deeply did he regret his vanished means, which might have been secured by the expenditure of a very few pounds in insurance. Emigrants should never trust to chance, where their material interests are concerned; certainty should, if possible, always be secured.

But that first absolute necessity in emigration, of crossing the ocean, has not yet been touched on; however, it nearly concerns in many ways, the existence, hopes, and happiness of the emigrant of every rank and station. In long and distant voyages, the accommodation of the emigrant becomes a question of life and death; whilst even in the shorter transit to America, it is of importance, more particularly to “intermediate” and “steerage” passengers. In preparing for a long sea voyage, even for a month, there are many things to be looked to. First in im-

portance, is the character and accommodation of the ship. Light and ventilation should, above all things, be well looked after, they are absolute necessities to guard against disease. In dock, even the best cabins look much lighter and more airy than they are at sea, when port-holes have to be closed, sky-lights let down, and stern-ports, in small ships, caulked in. The nearer the cabin is towards the centre of the vessel, the motion is of course more reduced ; but then both light and air should be secured, by having a port-hole with a bull's-eye (of glass), and facilities to open it easily in warm or fine weather, when required. These are frequently apparent while the vessel is in harbour, but when out at sea, dead-lights are let down over them and secured, so that light and air are both shut out. Cabin passengers should, if possible, engage their berths in the poop, if such exist, as these cabins are more light and airy than below. Emigrants of the lower classes, "steerage" and "intermediate" passengers, are always accommodated below, "'tween decks," and as their quarters are nearest the water's edge, the facilities for obtaining light and air are decreased. Much light can seldom be obtained from side-ports in passenger-ships, except of the very largest class ; as it would be dangerous to have many ports with bull's-eyes fitted in their sides ; it is most frequently obtained by pieces of thick opaque glass, inserted in the decks of the vessel, at intervals. Air is, more particularly in bad or rough weather, obtainable only through the hatchways, one or more, as they may be kept open. At sea, the entire hatchway can seldom be up, as the spray that comes on board would then wash down into the hold.



This is particularly the case in bad weather, when merely a small scuttle in the hatchway is all that can be left open for the ascent and descent of passengers, and the admission of air. The “ ’tween-decks” of an emigrant ship, with three or four hundred passengers, sunk in darkness, and with the little pure air that descends through, perhaps, two scuttles, one in the fore-hatch and one in the after, in bad weather, may be imagined : to describe it adequately is impossible. The sickness of many, the effluvia of hundreds of heated bodies, with the associated odour arising from every kind of provisions the passengers possess, but too often generate fevers of the most virulent kind. Disease then prevails in the crowded space ; attention, such as the wants of the sufferer require, cannot be administered ; and, unless the destined port is soon reached, death and an ocean grave is frequently the poor emigrant’s fate. These ship fevers are often communicated to the crew and cabin passengers ; on long voyages, indeed, they become appalling, and even on those of limited duration, they are often fearfully fatal.

During the summer of 1847, the extent of disease in vessels bound to the States or to our American possessions, was very great. Many instances have occurred of ships losing one third or one fourth of their emigrants on the passage, another third being laid up in fever on their arrival in Canada, where no small proportion of those landed have also died at the quarantine stations. Up to the commencement of August last year, rather more than seventy thousand emigrants were landed in Canada, and of these, it is calculated that no less than twenty-three thousand



were suffering, on arrival, from fever or its effects. Of course, with a few occasional exceptions, these were exclusively steerage passengers, deprived of light, ventilation, and a sufficient diet, during the voyage.

Passengers of all classes should, if possible, always take their passage by ships that are *constantly in the habit of trading to their destined port*. These have a character to maintain, which leads to a better treatment of passengers than is likely to be met with in transient vessels, which may make but one solitary voyage to the place, the owners caring but little what accommodation they give, merely looking to, and calculating on, as large as possible an amount of profit from the ship. Large ships should be generally chosen in preference to small ones, unless the latter carry very few passengers; cabin emigrants should prefer a small party of companions to numerous ones in the cuddy, as disagreements and squabbles, frequent on ship-board, are then less likely to occur. "Steerage" and "intermediate" passengers should, next to light and ventilation, seek room, and avoid overcrowded ships: water-closets should be especially looked after, as many ships have none for steerage passengers, or in such situations as to be completely unavailable, particularly to females in rough weather; cabin passengers often suffer much from this cause also. Emigrants, whether cabin or steerage passengers, should, if possible, always procure *single* berths; a double berth, even in the most commodious cabins, is uncomfortable in bad weather and, in the steerage, unhealthy. Many of the emigrant vessels to America fit up berths to contain three or four each, and those are often occupied by males and females

of the same family, indiscriminately, though they may happen to be but •distantly related! The immorality and bad tendency of this is too apparent, and should not in any case be permitted.

It is absolutely disgraceful, alike to the Government of the country and the Legislature, that no measure has been adopted for the complete supervision, classification, and accommodation of passengers of the lower classes, in transient ships. The only steps taken by the executive, with regard to general passenger vessels for emigrants, are first, a survey to ascertain that the ship is sea-worthy; then a curtailment or restriction of the number of passengers, in proportion to the ship's tonnage; and, lastly, the declaration of the Government emigration agent at the port from whence the vessel sails, that she has a proportionate quantity of *bread* and *water* on board. This particularly applies to vessels bound to North America; private ships for distant colonies, seldom carrying a large number of passengers, are less subjected to the control of the Government agent.

Ships proceeding southward, and crossing the line with a certain number of passengers, are compelled by law to carry a surgeon. This is not at all the case in vessels bound to any part of North America; but sadly has the want of a surgeon been made apparent by the frightful casualties through fever, in the greater number of the ships carrying passengers, during the past year, to Canada. In their protection of emigrants, the Americans are much before England, as, under a heavy penalty, they bind all ships entering their ports to a much smaller proportion of passengers, according to their tonnage, than what is allowed by Great Britain.

The system at present enforced in all passenger-ships carrying emigrants on account of the South Australian Commissioners, is much to be commended, and might, in part, be made applicable to all emigrant ships. Classification is adopted in these vessels, the single males and females are in separate parts of the ship; whilst, again, both are divided by partitions from the married persons. Every morning a certain number of each class clean thoroughly their quarters; three or four of the best conducted of them, acting as superintendants, not only over this matter, but also in suppressing at all times nuisance, noise, or disorder. These persons sometimes act as teachers to the young, receiving a small remuneration in the colony. All are, however, under the management of the surgeon-superintendent, whose control over the emigrants, their regulation, provisions, &c., is unlimited. If provisions or water should fall short, he has even the power to compel the captain to put into the nearest port. A certificate from this gentleman is necessary for the captain or agent of the ship, before the last moiety of the contracted passage money is paid by the colonial authorities.

It certainly would be difficult to apply all these regulations to transient vessels bound to America, but a surgeon-superintendent should be on board each ship, the sexes should also be separated, except in the case of married couples. The arrangement of the berths should be under a certain specified plan, and not more than two persons allowed in each. It may be thought this would lead to much expense, but this is clearly proved not to be the case, by the South Australian Commissioners getting their

emigrants carried out for an average of £12 12s. per head, to the furthest part of the globe.

The next point of importance is, to inquire into the character of the captain. If he is a sterling man, his inferior officers are generally well conducted, and may much promote the happiness of the emigrant, particularly of the lower class. It would be well to ascertain if the commander has been long in the vessel, and if he is known on the line, as one accustomed to that particular trade; these are two material guarantees for his good conduct. At sea, the power of the captain is extreme in every way; and this authority should always be supported, unless when carried to such a length as would affect the safety of the passengers. Even when captains proceed to the greatest extremities, and perpetrate most outrageous doings, the crew are too likely to support them against the passengers. The anger or resentment of the commander of a vessel should never be provoked by any class of persons; for he has the means, without openly committing himself, of turning the ship into a "very hell" for the offender: this the writer has seen many times strongly exemplified, especially in long voyages; and he was once witness of a suicide, committed by a cabin passenger, under the influence of excitement, caused by petty annoyances heaped upon him by the captain. Respect should invariably be shown to that person, to whom, in going on board ship, you entrust your life. His commands and requests should always be met with alacrity, so that a feeling of mutual regard—if only temporary—may be promoted. It is not easy to judge of captains of ships when on shore; they seem for that period to assume another nature, with their

“go a-shore clothes;” and the mild, cheerful person we meet on *terra firma*, is often scarcely recognizable in the stern, tyrannical, abusive personage he proves to be at sea. Sobriety, on his part, ought above all to be looked after; for no human being should trust himself at sea with a drunken commander. Many of these points it is extremely difficult, especially for those who are not cabin passengers, to learn; but if the commander has been regularly trading to the port whither they are bound, and has been in charge of the same ship for some time, that may be considered sufficiently satisfactory, unless something decidedly unfavourable, and well authenticated, is learned against his character.

There yet remains one most important point to touch upon, of vital interest to the emigrant, and that is choice of climate. The colonies of Great Britain themselves present every diversity, from the scorching heats of Africa, to the six months’ winter of Canada and Nova Scotia. Thus, the range, even for those who wish not to quit the protection of British laws, is as extensive as could be wished for, and leaves no excuse for the unsuccessful emigrant attributing his failure to climate; if he resolves upon the adoption of a particular country from genuine information, he cannot easily err. Few, however, do judge with prudence and sound consideration; a vague statement of fertile lands, or large fortunes amassed by particular individuals, induce the first idea of emigration; and, once resolved upon, headlong on their course, rush the crowd, in total ignorance of whither they are bent.

It was on the banks of the Missouri, in the “far West” of the United States, after traversing some miles of

rich flats, formed by alluvial and vegetable deposits, that the writer alighted from his horse, and approached a large and spacious weatherboard house, with extensive out-buildings and stack-yards ; while in the distance waved the tall and graceful stems of broad acres of maize, fast ripening beneath the sun's still warm autumnal rays. Hanging his horse's bridle on a panel of fence, near the slip rail by which he entered the enclosure—on which the house stood—the author approached unnoticed ; and, although the front door stood open, rapped for admittance. From within, a voice issued, directing the stranger to walk in ; on doing so, he found himself in the main room of a comfortable farm-house, with evidences of prosperity heaped around, yet no human face was to be seen. But again the voice was heard inquiring what was the visitor's business. It was soon told : the traveller wanted accommodation for the night, as he had been informed there was no tavern within a long distance, and he had ridden far. Without hesitation he was made welcome, but assured he must help himself, as the farm servants had not yet returned, and the entire family were laid up with ague. There, in different rooms, were father, mother, three sons, and two daughters, all cadaverous-looking objects, shivering and shaking in palsied agony, beneath heaps of blankets, sheep and deer skins, piled on each other. An old traveller, the author soon made himself at home ; and when the farm servants returned, a savoury meal of "pork and chicken fixings" soon smoked upon the board. The master of the house was once a Northumberland farmer, but had emigrated ; journeyed to the far West, and purchased the land upon which he was located. Amply did the soil repay the culture, and



plentiful was the produce in the farmer's barns. Worldly wealth had increased with him ; but ague—the affliction of the country—had come upon him and his family, in whose countenances the ruddy glow of health had long ceased to be visible. Over and over again did the poor man say, that gladly would he return to the comparative poverty of his early days, and resign all he had acquired, to have health restored to him and his. But his lot was cast ; and he must linger on a life of neither comfort nor enjoyment, although all his wants were supplied by his farm, almost to excess.

Plenty, and a bounteous increase of the world's goods, had failed in this instance, as in a thousand others, to ensure happiness—for health was wanting. Trace the sluggish and muddy waters of the mighty Mississippi into the far West, and fever and ague will be found to form a sad draw-back on the advantages of that country. And long years must pass away before this region will become healthy. The dense forests will have to be cleared away, as well as the noxious gases emitted by the deep rich brakes along the river's bank. Proceed still further north-west, until the distant regions of Upper Canada, beyond Lake Superior, are attained—ague is even prevalent there ; but then the great fault of the British North American colonies, as respects climate, is, the length and severity of the winter, precluding all tillage of the land, and restricting the application of labour. Felling or chopping timber is the only employment that can, in the winter season in Canada, be pursued out of doors.

What a much more desirable climate exists in all the Australian colonies. Dry and healthy—except in



New South Wales at times of drought—field labour can be continuously pursued without injurious effects. Snow, there may be said to be none ; and frosts are so slight, as to disperse before an hour's sun.

But, above all, Australia is free from the pestilential vapours and miasma that are common in many new countries, and which arise from decaying vegetable deposits. The trees of Australia are evergreens ; and, although in process of time, the foliage of one year passes away, yet it may be said never to form a deposit. It remains upon the tree until the action of the sun and weather upon the leaf has had the effect of dissipating its substance, nought remaining but a dry shred, totally devoid of juices likely to resolve into gases. This provision of Nature disposes of what would otherwise prove most unhealthy, if subject to the course of European or tropical trees, in the formation of deposits of matter, which would soon putrify beneath a warm sun. Even the climate of South Africa, as far as health is concerned, and the ability to labour in the open air, is before most parts of the Western States and Canada. But to particularize each, would require more space than this sketch will afford. Urging attention to these points, the writer will, in the progress of his work, give such information upon the climate of each place described, as to enable the reader to come to a conclusion for himself as to which will suit him best : the snows and frost of North America, the heat of Africa, the dry atmosphere of Australia, or the temperature of New Zealand.

In emigrating, the new settler should pay especial attention to the general character, situation, and proprietorship of the

and his fortunes. The author would particularly call the attention of emigrants to this point.\* In some colonies, although the upset price of land may appear low, yet the expense of clearing is such as greatly to enhance the actual cost before the soil is in a fit state for cultivation. In Lower Canada, the average outlay for clearing waste land per acre is about three pounds sterling ; in Western Canada, four pounds ; in the other British North American possessions, about the same amount ; in the Western United States, from two to six pounds per acre, according to circumstances ; in the Cape Colony, two pounds ; in New Zealand, timbered land, from four to twelve pounds per acre ; fern land, one to two pounds ; whilst in the Australian colonies vast tracts of cleared fertile land are to be met with completely ready for the plough, more especially in Australia Felix and South Australia. The cost of clearing timbered soil in the latter colonies, intended for cultivation, is considerable. The accessibility to a market for produce raised is the next thing to be considered, and should be carefully inquired into ; whilst a yet more important matter is the title and tenure that emigrants will receive on purchasing waste lands. As a general rule, all purchases direct from the Crown of Great Britain in the colonies may be considered most secure ; this is also the case as regards land purchased from the Government in the United States ; but in transactions with land companies, private or public, the utmost caution and circumspection should be exercised. This has been strongly exemplified in the case of the New Zealand Company, which sold tens of thousands of acres to individuals who were induced to proceed thither, but were kept in a state

of suspense for years, without obtaining their land, until ruin descended on them, in consequence of differences between the Crown, the Company, and the Aborigines.

Emigration does, indeed, present a great and beneficial resource to hundreds of thousands, who, on account of limited means, or excessive competition, can but struggle on at home from year to year, without a chance of improving their condition or that of their children; although, as already stated, there are many who had better remain at home. But, as a general rule, an energetic, persevering, industrious, healthy man, with or without capital, can improve his condition and the prospects of his family by emigrating. But, above all, before any person should determine on such a step, it is advisable that he should weigh well the merits, advantages, and disadvantages of the various lands that offer scope for the enterprise and industry of those who seek to better their condition, by leaving the crowded parishes or marts of Britain, to seek a home in the pathless forest, or upon the wild prairie. One country or colony may possess advantages over others, for particular classes of individuals. The weaver or cotton spinner, whose labour is not required in the half-peopled districts of New South Wales, may find employment and good remuneration at the manufacturing emporiums that are continually springing up amongst the States of the American Union. Certain trades, also, will prosper in one place, whilst those who depend on them will starve in another, unless they turn their hands to, and follow other callings more in request in the land of their adoption. Capitalists, whose funds in one place would vastly increase, might, and often have, in

another, seen their means vanish from their grasp, like the morning dew before the summer sun. The farmer, the man of limited means at home, can, by a judicious choice of a new land, soon dispel the doubt and uncertainty that hang over his prospects, and weigh down his mind, absorbed by the interest and fate of the young family that surrounds him. The younger sons of aristocratic, or respectable families, who have little to expect from the adoption of either of the over-crowded professions at home, may find, in emigration, a field for the profitable employment of their talents and their limited capital, without submitting to the drudgery of trade. By perseverance, they will most likely succeed in founding, in new lands, a branch of the old stock which may, in future years, outshine the parent stem. Oh! for the joyous feeling of the mind, and its hopeful aspirations, when the enterprising emigrant shall pitch his tent on some well chosen and fertile valley, where Nature alone dwells, but which his mind's eye shall people with his numerous descendants, in peace, happiness, and plenty.



**NEW ZEALAND.**





## CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF THE SETTLEMENT—CLIMATE—PRODUCE—INHABITANTS  
AND SOIL.

BEGINNING with New Zealand, that colony furthest removed from England, the author will proceed to describe the other British settlements, as their distance from Europe decreases.

New Zealand lies to the south-east of Sydney, the capital of New South Wales, whence it is distant about fifteen hundred miles. It consists of three islands, and extends from latitude  $34^{\circ} 25' S.$  and longitude  $172^{\circ} 35'$  to latitude  $47^{\circ} 20' S.$  and longitude  $167^{\circ} 10'.$

For upwards of thirty years, it has been the resort of traders and others, who went there from New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land; some for the purpose of trading with the natives, others in order to establish whaling stations; whilst not a few were debtors, taking refuge there from their creditors in the colonies, and escaped convicts. Of these the greater part settled in the northern parts of New Zealand, but many preferred the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands and River Thames, where large numbers of whalers were in the habit of

calling to procure refreshments, and a few odd stores, which were supplied to them by the natives and white traders. The refreshments thus provided, generally consisted of pork, yams, and sweet potatoes. The natives breed vast numbers of hogs, which they partly feed on fish.

Calculated by its position to be of value to any of the three great maritime powers—England, the United States, and France—whose subjects extensively carried on the pursuit of whaling in the Pacific Ocean, New Zealand was made at different periods the subject of claims by the three powers, but was ultimately acknowledged as independent. Consuls were, from time to time, appointed by the three named powers, to watch over the interests of their subjects in the islands, and a Mr. Busby performed that office, on behalf of Great Britain, for some years.

The attention of Missionary Societies, particularly the Wesleyan, had been early attracted to this, as well as others of the South Sea Islands, and numbers of missionaries were, at different periods, introduced amongst the natives; with what success for the interests of religion, it is unnecessary for the author to say.

These gentlemen, many of whom were Americans, did not always confine themselves to the duties of their sacred office; they traded, bought and sold, first goods, then land, till they became purchasers, from the natives, of vast tracts of country.

At first, these purchases were made for little more than a nominal consideration; a few beads, a musket, some blankets, and a little powder and ball, were sufficient to purchase tracts which were measured, in the language of the missionaries, by miles. As the demand improved, so

did the price required by the natives increase, although their own title only consisted of tenure by force of arms ; so that frequently many native chiefs claimed the right of disposing of the same tract of land.

Trade extended as land was acquired, and white settlers came down from New South Wales ; many of the merchants and proprietors of which extended the circle of their operations to New Zealand, and became purchasers of land from the natives.

The traffic in New Zealand flax also progressed, the natives bartering it for the commodities of the whites. This flax, which grows wild in a great measure, is first dressed roughly by the natives, before being disposed of. Its fibre is particularly fine, fully equal, if not superior, to the best Manilla. Of late years, the production of it has actually decreased, particularly since the dominion of the British Crown ; the plant from which it is produced has not as yet become an object of culture with the European population, and the natives now pay little attention to it.

In consequence of the annual large increase of British subjects in New Zealand, the attention of the Home Government became more and more attracted to the settlement, until it was finally resolved to take possession of it by the Crown.

In order to give a colouring to this violation of the former recognition of its independence, Captain Hobson, a gentleman who had previously visited the islands, in command of the 'Rattlesnake' frigate, was sent out nominally as Consul, with extended powers, but in reality as Governor.

On his arrival in New Zealand, in the 'Druid' frigate, he lost no time in drawing together a number of natives, some of them chiefs, whom he easily conciliated, by the distribution of a few presents. Those natives were assembled at Waitanga, and, although they did not represent a tithe of the native population, yet a treaty, known by the name of the place where it was concluded, was signed by them, surrendering the sovereignty of the islands to Great Britain, in which treaty was also conveyed to the latter, a right of pre-emption over all lands disposed of by the natives. No sooner was the treaty of Waitanga concluded, than British authority was proclaimed, and Captain Hobson announced as Lieutenant-Governor, under the jurisdiction of Sir George Gipps, Governor of New South Wales, and the council of the same place.

The treaty was effected in the northern part of the north island, with a few chiefs of that neighbourhood. No representatives from the middle or south islands, the latter of which is commonly called Furneaux Island, were present; although, it was a notorious fact, that scarce two tribes in New Zealand were at perfect peace with one another, yet the act of a few natives of a distant part of the north island was accepted as a sufficient authority for the British Crown to take possession of the three islands.

No sooner was dominion assumed, than agents were dispatched to various parts to obtain further signatures to the treaty, and numbers attached their marks to pieces of parchment, of the tenor of which they understood but little, it being frequently not even read to them. The

author has heard it asserted, that a piece of tobacco, a little powder or lead, easily induced the natives to put their sign manual to that which willed away the liberty of their country; but which they did not understand at the time. Witnesses were not wanting, many were easily procured to perform this part of the ceremony, one of the principal agents being the commander of a small trading vessel, well acquainted with the bays and coasts of New Zealand.

Previous to the departure of Captain Hobson from England, public attention had been much attracted to those islands, and a company was formed for the purpose of purchasing lands from the natives, and colonizing them. An expedition for that purpose left England in the beginning of 1839, under the management of Colonel Wakefield, and was quickly followed by a large number of emigrants, many of whom were persons possessing considerable means. Captain Hobson did not sail till much later in the year 1839, arriving at New Zealand, after visiting Sydney, in the January of 1840.

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The climate of New Zealand very much resembles that of the south of England, in spring and summer, although the northern island is much warmer; no portion of it is visited with the severe frosts usual with us at home.

The three islands are particularly temperate, which is accounted for in a great measure by no portion of them being at a greater distance than sixty miles from



the sea. So pure is the atmosphere, that no danger exists from sleeping in the open air, at any period of the year.

New Zealand is visited by frequent rains, none of which are of any long continuance, as the strong winds that prevail, and the narrowness of the land, prevent any very large masses of vapour from condensing over the islands.

Numerous small rivers and brooks of pure water descend from the interior, which contribute much to the health of the inhabitants.

The produce of New Zealand has not been as yet fully developed. The agricultural portion of it consists of maize, wheat, oats, and yams, the sweet potatoe, the common potatoe, pumpkins, and the ordinary European vegetables; little or no fruit exists, but from the soil and climate, there is no doubt that all kinds of fruit and vegetables, of the tropical and temperate climates, will flourish here as soon as a sufficient time has elapsed to admit of their cultivation.

Of timber, New Zealand possesses many exceedingly fine specimens: that most known and appreciated is, the Kauri tree, which grows to an immense altitude, and produces some of the finest spars and masts for ships in the world. Although not what may be called a hard wood, it is somewhat of the pine species, but more durable and tougher. Timber of many other species covers most of the islands, amongst which, are some beautiful woods suitable for cabinet purposes, and others fit for ship building.

The native flax, which formerly was the staple article of the island trade, is much esteemed in the home market, and will, no doubt, when labour is more plentiful and

the country more settled, be generally cultivated, on account of its soft silky texture.

The animal produce is extremely limited; before the settlement of the Europeans, it may have been said to be confined to pigs, with which the island abounds. They are supposed to be the produce of animals left there by Captain Cook, and other early discoverers.

Cows, sheep, and horses are now becoming general, being imported in considerable numbers from New South Wales and Port Phillip; yet their increase must for a length of time be limited, owing to the nature of the country.

The mineral wealth of New Zealand has only been very partially explored. Iron-stone exists in many parts, and copper mines have been discovered towards the northward, at a place called the Barrier Reefs; the produce, however, is, as yet, neither very large nor very rich.

Coal has very recently been discovered at Massacre Bay, close to the north-west extremity of Middle Island, in latitude  $40^{\circ} 35' S.$ , and near the entrance of Cook's Strait.

The seas around New Zealand, as also its rivers, abound in fish of many kinds. A great portion of the food of the natives is procured from this source.

Whales, both sperm and black, visit the shores of the island at certain seasons, but not now in such numbers as formerly. Whaling stations have for years existed on various parts of the coasts, from which three or four boats are manned in pursuit of those monsters of the deep whenever they appear. These stations are owned either by Australian or Van Dieman's Land merchants, engaged in the whaling trade, who possess small vessels which carry the produce to Sydney, Hobart Town, or Laun-

ceston. Numbers of South-Sea ships of every maritime nation knock about the coasts at certain seasons in pursuit of the whale.

These vessels were, at one period, in the habit of visiting the New Zealand ports in large numbers for refreshments; but since the establishment of customs' dues and regulations, they have almost ceased to enter them, calling now at some of the Pacific Islands, where they are not hampered or molested by such obstacles.

On the face of the globe there does not exist, in a natural state, a finer specimen of the human race than the New Zealander.

Formed in nature's finest mould, joining great height to immense muscular power and agility—erect as an arrow—no finer model for the sculptor could be obtained. Their colour is brown, not much darker than the Spaniards; the females are fairer than the men, but equally well formed.

Hospitable, generous, brave, and warlike, the character of these islanders has suffered only in consequence of their being addicted to cannibalism. This, however, was only practised upon the bodies of enemies killed in battle; it was never their custom to kill their prisoners or children, as has been asserted, for this purpose. Indeed, cannibalism was more practised as a rite, a form of thanksgiving, at their feasts for a victory gained, than for the gratification it afforded.

Of late years, since a more extensive intercourse with whites, cannibalism has very much decreased, if indeed it is ever practised at all now.

At all times the native New Zealanders have shown

great generosity towards the whites, many of whom have taken wives amongst the former, and found them make good, virtuous, and constant helpmates.

Even the collisions between the British Government and themselves, since the occupation of the islands as a Crown colony, has not caused them to alter their behaviour towards those whites, who took no part in the military proceedings against them.

At several points where the military forces were checked, and met with severe loss at first, the natives, although victors, did not perpetrate a single injury to the life or property of any of the settlers within their power, and not one outrage on female virtue took place. They avowed that they waged war with the Government, and not with private individuals, who would be safe when in their power. So open, so manly are their habits, that even when about to attack an enemy, they will not do it secretly, but first send to apprise them of their intention.

In war, at present, they are a formidable body amongst the dense woods and precipitous hills, being excellent marksmen, and are all well armed with rifles, muskets, and fowling-pieces, obtained in trade from the white settlers.

Most fortunately, after several years' sad misgovernment, the judicious conduct of the present Governor, Captain Grey, has effected a general peace with the natives; so that it is hoped we shall in future, by just conduct, possess them as friends, and not have to oppose them as enemies.

The differences between the natives and whites originated with claims to land made by the latter; and led,

in the first instance, to an ill-planned expedition, for the purpose of capturing two native chiefs, Raipuratra and Rangihœta, who had pulled down and burnt a surveyor's hut, on some land to which they asserted the New Zealand Company had no right.

The expedition proceeded from one of the Company's settlements in Cook's Straits, to the neighbourhood where it was supposed the two chiefs were to be found. It was headed by a Mr. Thompson, a magistrate, Captain Wakefield, an agent of the Company, and several officials, surveyors, and other whites, who had been sworn in as special constables, and armed.

The chiefs were found up a small rivulet some eight miles from the coast, where a Government brig had conveyed the party and landed them. Some thirty followers and many females were with the chiefs, who were required by Captain Wakefield and Mr. Thompson to surrender as prisoners, which was declined ; a conversation, but not of any violence, ensued, during which a shot—it has never been ascertained from which party—was fired ; a *mêlée* followed, several were killed on both sides, but the Europeans, to the number of between forty and fifty, fled. They were pursued a small distance to the rivulet, which most of them had crossed by means of a canoe. Many were here killed, but those across the rivulet were pursued no further, but allowed to make their way to the coast, whence they were taken on board the 'Victoria' without molestation. Meanwhile, the officers and heads of the party, who had been deserted by their comrades on the far side of the brook, surrendered to the natives ; but the wife of one of the chiefs, who was the daughter of another,

having been killed by a shot, the prisoners were put to death by the natives, as soon as the chiefs were informed of their loss.

This was called the Massacre of Wairau, from the name of the place where it happened; upwards of twenty whites, amongst whom were Captain Wakefield and Mr. Thompson fell in the battle, or were cut down afterwards. A stigma has been thrown on the native character in consequence of this action, but they certainly do not deserve all the odium heaped upon them. It should be remembered that the whites were the aggressors in the opinion of the natives, in seeking to arrest their chiefs; that the beloved wife of one, and daughter of another, had been killed by the fire of the whites; that those who were across the rivulet were suffered to escape unmolested, although every one might have been destroyed before reaching the coast; and, above all, it should be considered that the deed complained of was done immediately after the heat of battle, and under the influence of revenge for the loss of a dear object, so powerful in the savage breast.

On the whole, the race of New Zealanders are much to be admired, and it is indeed to be hoped that they may be preserved, and not exterminated as has been the case with the Aborigines, in too many of the Crown colonies.

The constant internal wars amongst the New Zealand tribes have always kept their number very limited; at present, the total native population on the three islands is supposed not to exceed one hundred and twenty thousand, dispersed over an area of land exceeding in extent the whole of Great Britain and Ireland. Fond of a free life, and averse to much manual labour, many of the Abori-



gines are yet to be found dispersed amongst the whalers in the South Seas. They make capital seamen for that purpose, being particularly expert at the use of the oar. Many are to be met with in the ports of the Australian colonies, and along the seaboard of the western States of South America.

Since the general settlement of the islands by the whites, the open generous character of the Aborigines has been, particularly in the way of trade, much deteriorated; and they are now as sharp and keen at a bargain, and as ready to take advantage of any one as many of the white traders, who are possessed in some instances of but a small portion of honesty.

Throughout the whole extent of the South Seas and Pacific, no Aboriginal race is possessed of such intellectual faculties as the New Zealanders.

When an imperceptible amalgamation of the race of whites with them was taking place, previously to British dominion in their islands, by means of intermarriages, this intellect was in general only used in promoting fair trade and mutual prosperity. But since the British Union Jack has waved over those shores, a change has indeed come over their spirit. Imbued by an incapable Protectorate with the belief that the interests of the white population were directly opposite to their own; and that the newly arrived colonists wished to obtain their lands for nothing, and procure every possible advantage over them; they have exhibited great ingenuity in resisting claims on land, advanced by parties who had in some way or other effected purchases of such land.

At one period, the natural high disposition and honour of

the Aborigines would have led them to protect, if necessary, by force of arms, any one purchasing land from a particular tribe. Now, every possible obstacle is thrown in the way of the settler obtaining or retaining possession. Why is this change? How has it been caused?

Under the specious title of a Protectorate for the Aborigines, the chief and subordinates of this self-created body, lost no opportunity of fixing in the minds of the natives a superlative idea of the value of their land, and excited their opposition to the settlers, by reminding them of the small value they had originally obtained for it.

This was not all, the Government were represented to the shrewd and calculating natives, as their friends and the opponents of the settlers who had obtained land from the Aborigines before the official settlement of the islands. Native cupidity was excited; one step more and the Protectors satisfied the natives, that by asserting claims and setting forth rights, the Government would compel further remuneration to be accorded to them, for lands already disposed of. This was sufficient; honour was lost sight of by the native savage when cupidity was thus unwisely excited by some of the religious teachers of the white settlers. Thus, has the Aboriginal character suffered much in the way of fair dealing, from connection with those who should have been the very parties to inculcate it.

The soil of New Zealand is varied, but taken as a whole, it may be fairly said that but a very small portion of it is calculated for cultivation.

In the vicinity of the coast, the land is broken into steep hills and deep valleys, so that access into the interior is

very difficult. In the interior, where no settlements have as yet been attempted, high table lands exist at many hundred feet elevation above the sea ; but with very few exceptions, these plains are covered with thick interminable forests, not such as those in Australia or America, but complete masses of vegetable matter, through which the human eye cannot penetrate.

Vast, noble trees, the trunks of which not unfrequently are eight or nine feet in diameter, rise above your head to an immense height, perhaps without a branch for eighty or ninety feet. Devoid of grass, the earth produces creeping plants of various denominations, which circling from tree to tree, form an impervious barrier, where native paths do not exist. So thick, so dense, so impenetrable are these forests, that it would be utterly impossible to pass a yard into them, without the use of the axe to hew your way.

There are here and there, amongst the table lands, small open spaces, but none of any great extent ; and even such are covered with tall ferns, which takes the place of herbage. The soil may be said almost to produce no grass in its natural state ; cattle or sheep when introduced principally subsist on fern, and the leaves and branches of shrubs and trees.

The Aboriginal population seldom dwell in the interior, they are generally to be found on the sea coast, or in the neighbourhood of rivers which give an easy access to the sea, as they much depend on fishing for subsistence.

The spots of land cultivated by them are also in the same neighbourhood, in which may be said to exist the best soil. The banks of rivers or streams, and occasionally a

sloping knoll or the bed of a valley, are the places most suitable for cultivation.

The number of the population, (Aboriginal) having at all times to which our knowledge extends, been extremely limited in comparison with the extent of territory held by them, they have experienced no difficulty in choosing spots where they could, with great success, carry on their cultivation of yams, potatoes, &c.

These good lands have in general been retained by them, and not sold; and it may truly be said, that they are annually becoming less disposed to part with the best soil, such as is available for cultivation, by being clear of timber.

The hills towards the coast are so extremely steep, that if even they were stripped of the superabundant vegetation that covers them, in the shape of timber and creeping plants, yet they would be of no value to the agriculturist, as the heavy rains that often prevail, would soon wash away from their sides the fruit of the husbandman's toil.

An extensive knowledge of the country enables the writer to state, that at present not one fiftieth part of the land of New Zealand would repay cultivation, and that not one hundreth part is available for that purpose, without such an expenditure as would, in most instances, cost as much to clear it as the fee simple of land in England could be purchased for. The rains, which so frequently prevail, together with the extreme temperature of the climate, are most favourable to the production of every kind of grain; and now that fruits of various descriptions are being introduced by the European settlers, there is no

question but that they will fully answer every expectation, as vegetables have done. Native flax, which has been so well found to suit the soil, cannot at present or for some time be cultivated by the Europeans, on account of the scarcity of labour, and their distance from a market.

The vine has been tried as an experiment in the best soil, and has been found to answer so far as the trial went.

Some of the tropical productions, as sugar, cotton, &c., can never be grown at New Zealand, on account of the climate.

The soil does not produce grass, or any substitute, to such an extent, as to render it advisable to rear cattle and sheep as articles of export, either in their live state, or as wool, tallow, hides, &c. The dense forests also render the space over which they can roam very confined; so that, at least for ages to come, the colonists can never expect to realise wealth or competence from grazing and breeding live stock, the produce of which must, for a length of time, be confined to the mere supply of the wants of the inhabitants.

Throughout the soil of New Zealand, strong indications exist of a volcanic origin; the ironstone found there exhibits visible traces of having been, at some period, exposed to the action of fire. Coal has been, as already stated, recently found, and no doubt will ultimately prove of much value for smelting, and commercial purposes.

## CHAPTER II.

EARLY TRADE OF NEW ZEALAND—WHALING AND WHALERS—CAUSES OF THE FAILURE OF COLONIZATION ON AN EXTENSIVE SCALE—NUMBER OF WHITE POPULATION.

THE trade and intercourse of New Zealand with the civilized world may be said, previous to the year 1836, to have been carried on through a few schooners and small craft, belonging to Sydney and Van Dieman's Land; and a very large number of whalers of every nation, that resorted thither either for refreshment, or for the purpose of establishing on shore temporary erections for "trying" out oil from the blubber they had previously procured.

The small craft resorted to the shores of the islands, trading and collecting flax, pork, and potatoes, to carry to their own ports, and also to convey stores to whaling establishments round the coasts, belonging to New South Wales or Hobart Town merchants; bringing back in return the oil that had been procured. A number of store-keepers and a merchant or two, on a small scale, had established themselves in various ports, particularly in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands and the river Thames, for the purpose of trading with the natives. Many ships also put in for refreshment, after

a long stay at sea, on the south-west coast of America, or the shores of Japan, requiring many necessities in pursuit of their avocation: cordage, canvas, instruments, slop-clothing, tobacco, and many other things, which they might have run out of, in consequence of remaining in the South Seas and Pacific Ocean, longer than they had originally projected.

The Bay of Islands, situated in the north island, offered a spacious and safe harbour, of easy access, to all vessels; whence they could as easily depart, after having furnished themselves with what they required.

Lying also in the track of whalers, as they followed in those seas the migratory movements of the monsters of the deep, vessels of every nation employed in the fisheries resorted to the Bay of Islands and other ports of New Zealand; not only on account of the excellence and superiority of the harbours over most others in those seas, but also in consequence of their convenience, the cheapness of provisions, the possibility of procuring such stores as they wanted, and the non-existence of harbour dues, customs regulations, or any other annoying control.

The refreshments furnished to ships were repaid generally by tobacco, spirits, powder, ball, muskets, blankets, and trinkets. The native was contented, happy at procuring these accessions to his original wealth; the whaler was satisfied with his cheap supplies from them—pork, potatoes, and other vegetables; and the white store-keeper was also contented with his barter, having furnished his goods to the ships, and taken in return oil, which he afterwards shipped to Sydney.



Composed of English, French, and Americans, but chiefly the latter, the whalers are, taken as a body, a bold reckless set of men, impatient of control when once out of the precincts of their ship, and from under the jurisdiction of their commanders. Each naturally averse to the government of any other country than his own, and always looking forward when they set their foot on shore in the Pacific Islands, to the gratification of their passions, it is readily to be supposed, that a port where British authority was established, would be no favourite with them.

The masters of whalers, also, too frequently participate in the feelings of their men, and when the irksomeness of customs regulations and port formalities, together with dues and duties were taken into account, and joined with the previously stated causes, it is no wonder that the Bay of Islands, on the establishment of British authority, became deserted as a place of call for South-Seamen.

Port regulations, customs forms, duties &c., had been imposed, when Captain Hobson proclaimed British sovereignty, or, soon afterwards. Gradually the ports became deserted, till, at length, on often repeated remonstrances, the Bay of Islands was again declared a free port, but yet not altogether without its official annoyances. The amendment, the recantation, came too late, the mischief had been done; and where formerly thirty or forty whalers, bearing the Stars and Stripes of the Western World, the Tri-colour of France, and the Union Jack of England, were to be seen, now a solitary one or two may be found, and that at distant intervals of time. Although the whaling trade is annually vastly increasing, yet the

formerly unnoticed islands, further north in the Pacific, obtain all the benefit of it, because they are free.

It is in the waters of those seas, that the grand nursery and source of employment for American seamen exist. The French also, particularly the merchants of Havre, have made, of late years, vast exertions to promote their South Sea trade in whaling; and, at the present time, although such a startling fact will scarce be credited, they possess considerably more ships employed in this trade than the English.

But the Yankees far, very far, surpass the other two nations together, in the extent of their whaling operations, more vessels being fitted out of New Bedford and New Haven in the States, than out of the two great ports of London and Havre united. The total number of ships employed in this trade by the United States, exceeds twelve hundred sail, which is more than six times that which England and the colonies employ in the same manner.

A peculiarity exists in this trade, exhibiting the different mode in which it is carried on. Whilst English vessels, particularly those from home, will not lower a boat in pursuit of a black whale, both French and Americans take black and sperm whales, as they happen to come across them.

The reason assigned for the English ships only taking sperm whales, is, that black ones would not pay a ship fitted out for a three or four years' voyage, at an expense of from twenty to thirty pounds per ton, on the registered tonnage of the ship, not including the value of the vessel herself. The proportionate value of sperm oil compared with the other, is generally as four or five to one.

The colonial vessels employed in the South Seas are not so particular, many of them catch what they can ; but they seldom remain at sea longer than twelve months from their own port.

The Australian colonies, that is, Sydney, Hobart Town, Launceston, Adelaide, and one or two minor ports in Van Dieman's Land, may altogether fit out fifty sail of ships for the whale trade ; besides these, they send out to various parts of their own coasts, and those of New Zealand, land parties of ten to twenty men, or even thirty, with two to four boats, and the necessary apparatus. These establish themselves at convenient places, where whales are known to resort, generally open bays ; and pursue their avocation, sometimes with great success, whilst the season that the fish remain on the coast lasts ; the produce and men are then conveyed back to their port, by vessels which call for them, and the value of the oil divided amongst them and the fitter out of the expedition, according to shares previously agreed on. Many sperm whales visit the coasts of New Zealand ; they are easily distinguishable from black fish by their spout as they rise to breathe.

The mixture of people to be found amongst the South-Seamen is extraordinary ; not one of the islands of the Pacific and South Seas, but furnish many useful hands for the fisheries. New Hollanders, low as they are in the scale of humanity, are yet to be found amongst the crews of those ships ; Chilians, Peruvians, Patagonians, every cross of the Spaniard, Portuguese, and South American Indians, as well as some Malays, and samples of every European race, Dane, Swede, Dutchman, Frenchman, Italian, all are here mixed up. Negroes who

have been emancipated or purchased their freedom, compose, in some instances, a considerable portion of the crew of Yankee whalers, and numerous convicts who have in various ways escaped from the colonies, swell the number of this varied and oddly assorted throng.

The state of some of the Pacific Islands, owing to the number of runaways of every nation that escape from whalers when they visit any island, is scarcely to be conceived. Not unfrequently, indeed, unruly individuals of a crew are landed with or without their own consent, as the case may be, on some one of the thousand scattered islands that dot those seas.

The tale of one is that of all. After desertion, connections are formed with native females, and for years, sometimes for life, they remain in a half-savage state with their paramours, adopted generally into the native tribes. Not unfrequently they get tired of this life, from various causes, and when a ship calls, that they think will suit them, they engage themselves on board, remain five or six months, to desert again at the end of that time at some other island.

Large sums in wages, earned on board, are often left behind without a thought; though sometimes the owners suffer by the deserter having overdrawn what was due to him in slops and tobacco.

The writer, from an intimate knowledge of the South Sea trade, does not conceive, that classing vessels of all nations together, one half the crews that leave the ports from which they have originally sailed, return in the same ships, if they ever return at all. Desertion amongst those islands, where, by the aid of a sunny clime, the means of subsistence is so easily procured,

and sensual appetites so readily gratified, owing to the disposition and simple ideas of a half savage race, is not always confined to the hands of a ship, it often extends to the officers.

Whalers are not like other ships; they carry a much larger number of hands, of which only such a proportion as is necessary to work the ship and do its other duties need be able seamen. The greater portion of a whaler's crew are merely required to pull in the boats and assist in cutting off the blubber, and "trying" out the oil. This is work that any human being can perform, if he be possessed of animal strength; the composition of whalers' crews is thus easily accounted for from this cause alone, leaving aside the difficulty of replacing good seamen when they abscond.

The whaling trade, aided by the small trade in native flax, was originally what gave prosperity to New Zealand, to a limited extent, previous to the Crown taking possession, and such is the reason that so much is here said of it. Moreover, if attention were drawn to the advantageous position of New Zealand as a place whence capitalists might fit out whalers, and endeavour to recover some portion of that valuable trade, which seems annually more and more to be passing into the hands of the Americans, those islands might become of some service to Great Britain, and not remain an incubus upon it as at present, at an annual expense of thirty-five thousand pounds, exclusive of the troops it is necessary to retain there.

Attracted by official representations, private enterprise, as well as the collective resources of the New Zealand

Company—at that period without a charter—were first put forth in 1839, for the regular colonization of the islands of New Zealand. As the New Zealand Company became a prominent body in the promotion of extensive colonization, it may be as well here to state, that although that body was formed in the early part of 1839, and dispatched an agent, Colonel Wakefield, and others to purchase lands from the natives, yet it was not till the close of 1840, after news had arrived of the treaty of Waitanga, and the pretended cession of the islands by the Aborigines to the Crown, that negotiations were entered into with Lord John Russell, then at the head of the Colonial Department.

These negotiations ended by the Company obtaining a charter, by which their capital was fixed at three hundred thousand pounds, and a free grant of land conferred on them, on the undertaking that emigrants should be conveyed out under conditions, and in a certain proportion to the land granted, which land was understood to have been previously obtained by purchase from the Aborigines by Colonel Wakefield.

Thus had the New Zealand Company, in compliance with the wish of the Colonial Office, surrendered, nominally, any right they had to lands merely purchased from the natives, accepting, as a better title, the grant of the Crown with its appended conditions.

This was done to prevent collision between a body, such as the Company, and the Colonial Office, on the question of pre-emption of the soil, secured to the Crown by the treaty of Waitanga.

From the first, the Colonial Office and Sir George Gipps, the Governor of New South Wales, under whose

jurisdiction Captain Hobson was first placed, had resolved not to acknowledge the right of the natives, even previous to the treaty, to dispose of their lands to private individuals.

The years of labour, privation, danger, expatriation, and enterprise the settlers had undergone were nothing, they were not to be thought of: their acting as the pioneers of civilization was no recommendation, their purchases from the natives or the gifts of land obtained by them with Aboriginal women they had taken as wives, were not to be allowed, except in so far as they could prove they had paid a *reasonable* sum for the land.

What that reasonable sum might be, was left to a commission, called the Court of Claims, to decide; and after the expensive and prolonged legal formalities of this body, the original settler, who had dwelt for years in many instances on, and cultivated a portion of, this land, which he had come to look upon himself as much entitled to as the noblest family in England to their domains, was adjudged a small portion, not in accordance to the value of the land at the time he had acquired it, but what it was supposed to be worth at the period the Court of Claims investigated the matter.

The real cause, the true promoter of this system, was Sir George Gipps. Land had become most valuable in New South Wales; a real mania to acquire it existed there, fed by his policy. He had remitted vast sums to the Home Government to promote emigration; he had become the favourite of the Colonial Office; and seeing public attention turned to New Zealand, to ingratiate himself further with the Colonial Office, he hoped to reap the same



golden harvest from New Zealand, as he had done from that colony, more immediately under his jurisdiction, with little adequate consideration as to the future consequences.

But there were competitors in the race for the golden showers expected to be realized from the land of those islands. The Crown had come too late into the field, it was forestalled; private enterprize, resident merchants, traders, settlers, and Sydney capitalists, denominated "land sharks" by Sir George Gipps in "his Council," had as a matter of speculation, purchased, some for small considerations, others for greater value, large tracts of land, many miles in extent, from the Aborigines. These would be competitors with the Crown in the land market, so Sir George recommends and directs to be carried into effect, a resumption of such lands so disposed of, and the granting of a mere fragment under the Court of Claims, as previously described.

As well might the Government at home seek to interfere in private speculations, as to annul at one fell swoop the gifts and sales of a people, who had been for years acknowledged and treated as independent.

The pretence under which this was done, was, that the New Zealanders had been imposed upon, and cheated by "land sharks," that in some instances miles in extent of land had been obtained for a few hundred pounds' worth of fire-arms, powder, blankets, spirits, &c. The *bonâ fide* settler who had bought his land to live upon, to bring up his family on, was confounded with the speculator and "land shark."

But what was the value of the land? Whether the

“land sharks,” as they were called, had bought it too cheap, or not, time has best told : the Government have now at their disposal millions of acres of it, and what is its value ? Really, for the most part, nothing ! And the best of it, the choice portions, are too generally, indeed, not worth the sum given for it by the original buyers to the natives. Of course, in this, the writer does not include town, or suburban allotments immediately surrounding the towns.

To the natives, even, of what value is it ? Indeed, but little. One hundred and twenty thousand Aborigines inhabiting an extent of territory exceeding in size the entire of Great Britain and Ireland. Even these natives cultivated the soil but scantily : their wants were very limited, their industry not great, and the choice spots they cultivated, they seldom or never disposed of. Where, then, could be the value of the land to the Aborigines ? How could they be cheated ; of what use really was the soil to any one, without population ; and what would not the importation of labour cost ; and when procured at an immense outlay, where—how—in what manner, would it repay the expense ?

These facts Sir George never thought of : he had, by a system of his own, raised land in Australia to such a price, that it has since nearly ruined nine-tenths of the population. Hundreds of thousands of pounds had been thereby obtained by land sales, which he sent to England to relieve it of its superabundant population : it pleased the Colonial Office, and that was sufficient.

Had then the land of New Zealand become intrinsically

worth more to the purchaser, than the tens of thousands of acres that had been granted twenty and thirty years before, in the best situations in New South Wales, to the McArthurs Lawsons, Berrys, and scores of others, the great landlords of New South Wales? No! nor a tithe as much; because the Government had provided not only the land to these gentlemen, but it also gave them labour without payment. The convicts of the colony were assigned to them by hundreds, as they arrived from England, the assignee being merely bound to subsist and clothe them after a very poor manner, whilst the New Zealand "land shark," if he wanted to cultivate his land, would have to import free labour at an immense expense, and pay for its use equally high.

One of the principal causes of the failure of colonization, in New Zealand, is clearly traceable to the undue interference of the Government with private enterprise; a system vigorously disclaimed as impolitic at home, yet practised so very largely in our distant colonies.

But to follow up the course of events in New Zealand. No sooner had Captain Hobson concluded the treaty of Waitanga, obtained pre-emption, of the soil, and received directions from his superior, Sir George Gipps, to resume the right to the lands already disposed of, then he took the following step, as one way of carrying out those instructions.

The Bay of Islands being the principal place of trade, thither had Captain Hobson gone, on arrival in New Zealand. The principal settlement at that period within the district of the Bay was Korarorika; the

name of the town, founded and inhabited for years by those traders that supplied the whalers resorting to the Bay.

The site did not entirely meet with the approbation of the Lieutenant-Governor. A gentleman, named Clendon, resided at that period at Korarorika, and acted as American Consul, being a citizen of that Republic, which had at one time advanced claims to the New Zealand Islands.

Mr. Clendon, possessed on the shores of the Bay of Islands, a block of between three and four hundred acres of land, which he had purchased from the natives some time previous for an amount of goods, not exceeding in value at the outside fifty pounds. On this very spot Captain Hobson pitched as the site of his chief town, and concluded his purchase of it, from Mr. Clendon, for the enormous sum of fifteen thousand pounds sterling, one thousand of which was paid down in cash. Thus the Lieutenant-Governor's first act towards establishing a capital, was at complete variance with the system of resumption and pre-emption long previously decided to be acted on. But this was not the worst part of this act; it fixed a seeming value on land, which raised the ideas of not only those present, but the residents in other colonies, and even at home. It placed the official stamp of authority on an enormously high rate of value, as regarded all lands, but particularly those in the Bay of Islands. It raised, it excited the cupidity of the natives :—the Government, through the Governor, had actually bought a block of three or four hundred acres of land, which had originally cost scarcely fifty pounds, for the enormous sum of fifteen thousand pounds. But what

kind of land was it? Stony, rocky, uneven ground, with no depth of water in front, and which it would have taken four times fifteen thousand pounds to have rendered fit to build a town upon.

Yet this land, at the time, was projected to be divided into lots by the executive, and disposed of to the public at a considerably increased rate in price.

As soon as Sir George Gipps was informed of the purchase, it was disallowed by him; but by a dispatch from home, the Colonial Office had rendered New Zealand independent of Sir George Gipps, and erected it into a separate colony under Captain Hobson.

The Governor was embarrassed, Mr. Clendon demanded payment of the balance due to him, fourteen thousand pounds, which he had not received in consequence of Sir George's disallowance of the purchase.

Money was scarce with Captain Hobson, although he had received some large advances, seventy thousand pounds, from the New South Wales treasury. So payment in money not being convenient, Mr. Clendon was remunerated by a grant of thirty acres for every one given up by him, in a locality to be chosen by himself; and a rent up to the date of the grant, from the day of Captain Hobson's purchase, was paid at the rate of fifteen hundred per annum, for past occupation.

In this manner nearly twelve thousand acres of the best land that could be chosen in one block were given away for a thirtieth part of that quantity, not of soil, but of stones, tumbled in confusion over one another.

The result was, that after a short trial, Mr. Clendon's block, that cost so much, had to be abandoned as totally

unsuited for the erection of a capital, and another site was chosen. What induced Captain Hobson to perform such an act is inexplicable; the site had not even the recommendation of being near the elder settlement of Korarorika. Mr. Clendon, although not a British subject, was afterwards advanced to a seat in the Council of the Colony by the Governor, with whom the entire nomination of such rested.

The injury that this act entailed on hundreds of families, is inconceivable, and the suffering of the whole colony, from the same cause, was very great.

The simple fact of such a price being paid for land by the Government, led persons, at a distance, particularly at home, to consider that land which they never saw, but which was sold at one pound an acre in the same country, must be immoderately cheap in comparison.

The fact was blazoned abroad, and made the most of by all those interested in the prosperity of New Zealand. Its appendages were not brought to light; Sir George Gipps' disallowance of it was not placed side by side with it;—the mere fact of the price was all that was made use of.

'Hundreds with their families, in the colonies and England, abandoned comfortable homes, and invested, in some cases, after paying their passages, their all in New Zealand land, which was then selling in London by the Company.

Sir George Gipps, in the opinion of many, is not entitled to much credit for his disallowance of the Clendon job. It was not that he thought the price so much out

of the way. Land in Australia had brought more, but it was the stamp of confirmation of rights acquired from the natives by simple purchase of them, that particularly offended and displeased, leading him to refuse his sanction to the acts of his then subordinate.

Thousands are now condemned to drag out a weary hopeless life on the shores of New Zealand, with their prospects, and those of their families effectually blighted; and with not even the means to quit the scene of their disasters, which they would willingly do, leaving their land which they paid so dearly for behind them. Tears, it may be truly said of blood, have been shed to atone for the folly of a rule placed over that unhappy land by the Crown; and life itself has but too often passed away in the struggle against blighted hopes, ruined prospects, misery and want. Suicide also has aided not a few to escape from those miseries drawn on their shoulders by the errors and follies of others.

Captain Hobson is gone! he did not long survive the Clendon affair in its final settlement, an attack of paralysis opened the tomb, and it closed upon him with its remorseless grasp.

Happy is it that he lived not to see the misery and ruin which he so much helped to cause, for indeed his were errors of judgment, not of the heart. Bad, selfish, jobbing, dishonest advisers he had around him, and without sufficient strength of mind, or capacity to fill the office to which he had been appointed, he became the tool, the victim, of those advisers.

Who is to blame? Undoubtedly the system pursued



for too long a time, of appointing military and naval officers to the government of colonies, which their previous education and habits totally incapacitate them to fill with credit to themselves and satisfaction to those they rule. The general purchases of land, made by original settlers and Sydney capitalists, were in that part of New Zealand nearest to Sydney, and in which the Bay of Islands is situated. This was the most northerly part.

The scene chosen by the New Zealand Company was different. Colonel Wakefield pitched upon Cook's Straits, as the most central spot and best calculated for settlement.

These Straits are of no great width, but divide the northern island from the middle one. The mouths of the Straits lie nearly east and west, and in consequence of the prevailing winds being from these directions, they rush through the narrow channel, formed by the Straits, with vast velocity, being thrown to that spot as a focus, by the high lands of north and middle island, on either side, which prevents them passing over the land, and dispersing more equally. Constant gales of wind may be said to prevail, nearly the whole year round, on the shores of these Straits from this cause.

The principal settlements of the company are established on the northern side, and of course they partake largely of the disadvantages resulting from this cause. Colonel Wakefield had not been long arrived, when some ships with emigrants of the Company followed him, and still larger numbers poured in after the Charter was obtained from Lord John Russell. One

of its conditions being, that land should only be granted the Company in the proportion of four acres for every pound sterling expended by them in promoting and forwarding emigration. At the same time it was required, that if those lands had not been already purchased from the natives, such purchase should be effected, and this duty was principally to devolve upon the Government, who were to put the Company in possession, but not at the expense of the Crown.

Immediately after the Company's settlements had been established in the neighbourhood of Cook's Straits, jealousy arose between them and the more northern settlements. Disagreements followed with the officers of the Government, and misunderstandings with the Governor, who did not look with a favourable eye upon the Company, they being somewhat independent of him. The settlers to whom the Company had sold the land in London, and who had come out in ships chartered for the conveyance of such passengers, in the expectation of at once getting possession of the land, and commencing operations on it, were thrown idle about the newly formed towns, compelled to live upon those resources they had intended for the cultivation of the soil.

With some, these means were limited, for, in general, the extreme desire to obtain as large a portion as possible of land—originally thought so cheap—had been too strong an inducement, and had led them to invest their all in such purchases, hoping to realize great profit by a re-sale of a portion on arrival in the colony. What then was their disappointment when neither possession of land for cultivation could be obtained, nor remunerative work, by which

their families could be supported. Some departed after a time to Valparaiso and Lima, others to Sydney and Van Dieman's Land or Port Phillip; whilst the greater number, tied down by having their all invested in land purchased from the Company at home, and in daily expectation of either getting possession of the same, or obtaining a return of their money, lived on from day to day, until all were reduced to poverty, if not actual want.

After Captain Hobson's death, Lieutenant Shortland, at that time Colonial Secretary, became acting Governor; to him succeeded Captain Fitzroy; and now Captain Grey, a sensible, energetic, pains-taking gentleman, sways the destinies of this colony.

From time to time the Company obtained from one or other of these Governors, by dribblets, patches of land which were immediately divided amongst the first claimants who possessed land orders which they had paid for at home. Many of these orders yet remain unsatisfied; in some instances their holders will probably never even seek the land they have paid for.

The sites of the Company's towns—the three principal, as before mentioned, being Nelson, Wellington, and New Plymouth—having been early secured by Colonel Wakefield, and settled, the lands in them and the surrounding suburban allotments, were put up and sold by auction. This took place previously to the calamities of the colony, and whilst the mania caused by the high value of land through Captain Hobson's purchase still existed. Consequently, a high price was paid by those who were so fortunate as thus to obtain a home of their own, or land enough to raise vegetables and a little

grain upon. Such has been the depreciation, the transition from a land mania to a "land horror," that not one tenth the price paid at those sales could now be obtained.

In the year 1843, the author, then on a visit for a short time at Sydney, strolled down to the extreme point of the rocky promontory, on which that city is built.

It was noon—the sun was shining brightly, its rays glittering over the magnificent estuary of Port Jackson, and its hundred coves and bays. Taking a seat beneath Dawes' Battery, at some elevation above the water, on one of the many rocks scattered about the prospect around—with their bluff heads covered with verdure, stretching out into the main arm of the bay—the scattered white cottages, with green verandahs, peeping out of surrounding woods at the bottom of deep inlets, and in the distance the ranges of the Blue Mountains, for a time attracted and absorbed all attention. But when the scenery had afforded its gratification, and more notice was taken of the busy scene passing on the water, as numerous boats rowed to and fro, and vessels under easy canvass traversed the bay, his attention was drawn to two ships, which, dropping down with the tide, were making their way to the ocean. From the numerous cabbages, pumpkins, melons, and pressed bales of hay that hung around their sterns and encumbered their sides, it was evident they were bound on a distant voyage, in all probability for England. Fatherland, with its visions of early hope and happiness, rose vividly in the mind's-eye; when, after a time, a small wherry detached itself from the side of one of the ships where it had been towing, and pulled for the

shore close beneath, where one individual landed, and the boat, with another person who managed it, proceeded up the harbour. Ascending a few steps, the man who had landed threw himself on a rock, and turned his gaze on the ship he had just left. A wish to know where these ships were bound to, induced the author to join the man who had just quitted the ship. Both vessels were about to sail for England ; and, after some conversation of home and the colonies with the stranger, evidently a gentleman by birth and education, but much reduced in appearance, he communicated to the author the following sad narrative, which will serve to explain the situation of many other settlers in New Zealand.

More than three years before, the golden prospects of New Zealand, and the richness and value of its lands, had been blazoned abroad through England, and the attention of himself, amongst hundreds of others, had been drawn to the place. A marriage with a beautiful girl previously to that period, against the consent of his parents, had entailed upon him their anger and estrangement, and for pecuniary resources he was thrown completely upon a small freehold left by a deceased relative, which produced some £300 per annum.

Divided from the protectors and friends of his early youth, with a beautiful and affectionate wife, and an increasing family, he had long felt the irksomeness of a continued residence in England, without profession or employment, and attracted by the visions New Zealand held forth, he resolved to emigrate thither with his family, chiefly in order to promote their future welfare.

The freehold was disposed of ; a considerable portion of

its produce passed into the hands of the New Zealand Company in London for the purchase of lands, and the remainder was required for the outfit and passage.

All arrived safe. At first, visions of the future were bright: all was excitement, land was worth anything, and every hope was held forth to him of early getting possession of the many acres he had purchased. A sale of town allotments in Nelson took place; he attended it and became the purchaser of one, on which carpenters were hired to erect a portable house brought from home, made of wood, and put together with screws. This being accomplished, the remainder of the allotment was fenced in and cultivated as a garden. Comfortably settled, he then sat down calmly awaiting the completion of surveys preparatory to taking possession of the land he had purchased of the Company.

Bread, meat, every kind of food, was dear, beef being two shillings per pound, and mutton nearly the same price, all having to be imported from Australia. Week after week, month after month passed away. Disputes and differences between the Government and Company had arisen and grown apace. No land could he obtain. Gradually his funds were lessened, till the means that were reserved to purchase oxen, cows, and horses, and to cultivate the land, were exhausted. Drays, harness, and the many other things that had been brought out, had then actually to be bartered for the means of support for his family; till at length money had to be borrowed on the very house they resided in, at forty per cent. interest, to provide food. In short, after possessing all the comforts of life, they had been reduced to live only on pork, potatoes, and Indian corn, purchased from the natives.



Even this resource failed just as he had received a notice from the officials of the New Zealand Company, that some portion of the land bought in London could now, after a lapse of three years, be given up to him. It came too late, he had neither funds, nor energy to cultivate it; "hope deferred maketh the heart sick!" he was only enabled to borrow a small sum of money on it, a portion of which he employed in paying his passage to Sydney, leaving the rest to support his family. He was now endeavouring to obtain a situation as steward, or in some other capacity, on board a ship bound to England, hoping by a relation of his sufferings, to soften the hearts of his parents, and induce them to furnish him with the means of removing his family from the grave of so many bright visions. As yet he had been unsuccessful, but he did not despair of attaining his object; what afflicted him most, was the situation of his young family and tender wife, left with scarce the means of procuring the poorest food during his long absence, amongst hundreds equally as badly off in that distant land.

Circumstances at the period enabled the author to procure for the unfortunate emigrant such a place as he was in search of, and to afford him a little pecuniary assistance.

Intrinsically, New Zealand is not fitted at present for the establishment of an extensive colony, from the limited quantity of good, open, accessible land it possesses, as well as from its distance from any markets for its produce. But if it had possessed in superabundance good land, and been in the immediate vicinity of markets that would take all its produce, yet the disputes between the Company and the Government, together with the bad feeling



unfortunately existing between the Aborigines and the colonists, joined to the many other facts already set forth, were more than sufficient to reduce it to the predicament it is now in.

At the close of 1846, it was calculated that there were about twenty-six or twenty-seven thousand whites scattered over the surface of New Zealand. Of these, most, if not all, reside on the sea-coast, or in its neighbourhood. The greater numbers dwell in the towns Nelson, Wellington, New Plymouth, Auckland, Korarorika, Russell (Captain Hobson's bantling) and others of lesser note. None of these towns, however, contain a larger population than a couple of thousands, who dwell, it may be said, entirely in wooden houses, erected with slabs or sawn timber, the latter being, in many instances, neat and comfortable. A few houses, framed and imported from home, are also scattered about.

## CHAPTER III.

PROSPECTS OF NEW ZEALAND—ITS ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES FOR IMMIGRATION—MARKET PRICE OF FOOD, &c.

AT present, New Zealand, as a colony, as far as its connection with Government is concerned, is particularly favoured.

At the period of the grant of the charter to the Company, Lord John Russell was at the head of the Colonial Department; he is now Premier, and no doubt wishes to make every recompense to the colony, for the long misgovernment it suffered, through the delay in bringing the land claims of the Company to a settlement, whilst Lord Stanley and Mr. Gladstone were at the Colonial Board.

He also has, in the last Session, by a loan of upwards of two hundred thousand pounds, proved his desire to make some amends to the Company for the non-fulfilment, by Lord Stanley, of the conditions of its charter, and he hopes for the ultimate success of the New Zealand Company, as an experiment in the system of colonization.

The Company having been brought forth, *legally constituted*, under his eye when he ruled at the Colonial

Office, it is now no wonder that he should ~~wish~~ to see it spring forth strong, energetic, and prosperous.

At all times it is a hard task to raise into trade and credit a bankrupt, who is known to possess no funds; how much harder, therefore, and more difficult, to deal with an assemblage of such? To be successful, the effort must be gradual, and the lever that is to accomplish it must be placed on a solid foundation, time being requisite as the principal assistant.

Above all other colonies, New Zealand is protected and assisted by many parties in the House of Commons, connected with the Company or otherwise interested in its welfare. We have at no time, or in connection with no other colony, however valuable, had such interest displayed, and the time of the House so much occupied, as with New Zealand, particularly in 1846. The press, also, entertains, from some cause or other, a high opinion of these colonies, and they possess by far the most able colonial paper in the New Zealand Spectator, which is said to be under the influence, if not direction, of Mr. Buller.

From these causes it is not likely, therefore, at least as long as the present Government lasts, to suffer from inattention or the want of any support the executive can afford it. But these considerations are of little value, unless the natural advantages of the country are such as to present internal sources of success.

New Zealand does, and will for years, depend upon its flax, pork and timber, for its internal prosperity. Its towns might, and its agricultural population would be, very largely benefited by the establishment of an extensive system of whaling. Vessels fitted out in its ports

and despatched to the fisheries could, on account of their vicinity, return at no distant lapse of time, and forward their oil, by regular trading vessels, home or to Sydney. This would require, however, the assistance of extensive British mercantile enterprize and capital.

There is some copper, but not of great richness, and plenty of iron in New Zealand; but, for years to come, these can be but of little use. From what sources then is the prosperity of New Zealand to come? It is removed at a great distance from any market, for even its agricultural produce. Sydney is the nearest place, of any extent, where a market might be found; yet, although a vessel can sail from Sydney to New Zealand in eight or ten days, it is entirely a different matter when the order of things is reversed, and you are sailing to Sydney instead of from it. Strong westerly winds prevail during the great part of the year in those latitudes, and against these a ship has to beat fifteen or sixteen hundred miles. The passage to Sydney often occupies as much as six or eight weeks; generally about a month.

Thus are the settlers, in respect of time, really at a great distance from the nearest large market. Moreover, when the produce reaches Sydney, it has to compete with the produce of the lands of New South Wales, in many instances cultivated by unpaid convict labour. The general price of every thing in the Sydney market is so low, that the cost of carriage there would be a very serious consideration.

Cattle or sheep cannot be produced to any extent for the reasons specified in another place: the country not

being suited to them : so that little can be expected from this source.

After a careful consideration of the resources of New Zealand, the writer is of opinion that, for years to come, it cannot be either an extensively settled or extremely prosperous country. Its situation, as commanding the trade of the South Seas, is its greatest recommendation ; but that, for long years, must principally be confined to whaling. It cannot become, from its position, any great entrepôt for goods, because the countries in those seas will not be sufficiently settled for ages to require such a market.

At present, it is merely calculated to support, on its most favoured lands, small numbers of colonists, who must be satisfied with the necessaries without the luxuries of life ; and a limited number of shopkeepers and merchants, for the chances of trade with the natives and South-Seamen, if these can again be induced to resort to the harbours of these islands.

Timber, such as spars, with flax, and oil obtained on the coast, or in the way of trade from the South-Seamen for refreshments, would afford to the population the means of procuring those necessary articles of dress, &c., obtainable only from other countries. As population increases in New South Wales, it will become more difficult to compete in the markets of that colony ; so that on any occasion, except such as a drought, to which that place is subject, little return could be expected from Sydney for any produce of an agricultural kind sent there.

To none that know these colonies well, does land in quantities seem of much value, because of the expense of clearing

in the first instance ; then, again, even if the land were cleared, of what use is it, unless labour can be procured at a moderate rate of remuneration, and a market be near for its produce ? It is extremely improbable, therefore, that for some time to come, unless valuable mineral discoveries shall take place, land may be purchased to any extent, at the price of one pound an acre ; consequently, little means can be expected from this source for the purpose of promoting emigration.

The advantages most emigrants, departing for New Zealand, expect to derive are very questionable. Trade is essentially the only pursuit by which a competence may be accumulated in the course of years. And colonial traffic requires experience and shrewdness, as traders there often fall across very sharp practitioners.

The climate is a great recommendation, on account of its temperature and salubrity. In this respect it bears some resemblance to England, reversing the seasons. Soil and climate united, where the former is good, are of such a description as to produce, in great perfection, all the grain, fruits and vegetables of Europe, and a few tropical ones with little labour.

The disadvantages of New Zealand for immigrants have been deeply felt by many already there : the inaccessible nature of the country in many parts ; the almost insurmountable difficulty that exists in conveying produce or anything else across its deep valleys, streams, and rugged hills ; and, moreover, the scarcity and dearness of beasts of burthen. There is neither a mining, a manufacturing, a trading, or even a seafaring population of any extent, to dispose of

produce to, in the towns. The greater portion of the population must depend on agriculture, and, producing only for themselves, they cannot make purchases from others. In the markets of the towns, the Aborigines are competitors with the whites in disposing of most of the articles produced, and they have greatly the advantage, having retained for themselves much of the best and most convenient land, for which they have had to pay nothing, and which does not require to be cleared. Their wants are few, and they pay no taxes. Thus has a settler in New Zealand to contend, first with carriage, which is no obstacle to the natives, as they most generally use their canoes; then with the interest of money invested in the land and the cost of its clearing; then with wages, which he has to pay white workmen, before he can come into the market with the Aboriginal native, who, having the land for nothing, cultivates what and how much he wishes—acting in a manner as small farmers at home for the supply of the limited wants of the towns.

Custom-houses have been established in the various ports; so that on those articles a settler requires—tea, wine, sugar, spirits, clothes, &c., &c., duty has to be paid for the support of the Government of the country. This does not fall on the Aboriginal, unless he indulges in these things, which to him would be unnecessary luxuries.

The whites are seldom able to prevail on the Aborigines to engage with them as servants; they prefer freedom, and the cultivation of the soil on their own account. They rear large numbers of pigs, which are, and always have



been, the principal article of animal food made use of on these islands. Many of these animals are partially fed on fish, and their flesh frequently tastes strongly of it.

Above all, the labourer without capital can expect but little in New Zealand, because its productions are such as not to afford room to the master to pay him liberally. He may, indeed, procure a subsistence, because the necessities of life are cheap, but he will find little more.

In 1844, hundreds of persons, many of whom had been reduced from the middle ranks of life, were to be seen walking about the towns of New Zealand, particularly the Company's settlements, actually offering their labour to any one who would support them, being unable to leave the colony for want of means.

Tradespeople are abundant, far beyond the wants of the place; a considerable portion of this class of immigrants having been originally induced to come out by the high rates of profits and wages said to prevail at that period.

In fine, as a place of settlement, New Zealand at present exhibits advantages almost for no one; and it would be well that time would be allowed to elapse, so that the fostering care of the Government might, by degrees, improve the condition of those already there, who have suffered so much, before further immigration should disturb, or the influx of labour interfere with, the employment of those who have, up to this period, found it so difficult to obtain it.

In concluding his account of this new colony, the author thinks it advisable to give the following list of market prices from Wellington, New Zealand, April 1, 1847.

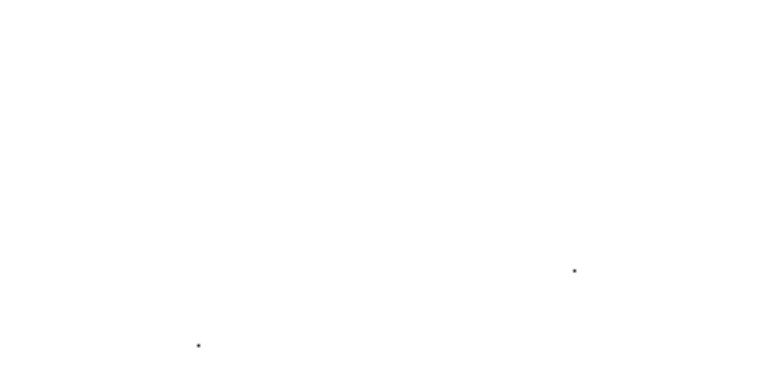
First flour £16 10s. to £17 per ton; bread per 2 lb. loaf

4*d.* ; beef 8*d.* to 9*d.* per lb. ; mutton 7*d.* to 8*d.* per lb. ; pork 4*d.* to 6*d.* ; maize or Indian corn 5*s.* per bushel.

Bullocks, per head . . .	£7	10	0	
Cows, per head . . .	£7	10	0	to £8 0 0
Heifers, per head . . .	£5	5	0	to £6 0 0
Prime ewes, per head . . .	£0	16	0	to £1 2 0
Prime wethers, per head . . .	£0	17	6	to £1 3 0
Horses, rough hacks, each.	£24	0	0	to £30 0 0

These prices, it will be perceived, are at least from fifty to one hundred per cent more than at Sydney, Melbourne, or Hobart Town. Bread, while only 4*d.* the 4lb. loaf at Launceston, in April 1847, was 8*d.* in New Zealand. Meat is also double the price of what it is in Sydney and Hobart Town, and more than three times the price it is in Melbourne, Australia Felix. Even New Zealand pork, the most plentiful article of animal food, was from 4*d.* to 6*d.* per lb., although it is anything but in good quality, owing to the fishy taste it universally has : the pigs chiefly subsisting on the finny tribe, by the rivers and sea-coast. There is, therefore, at present, not much prospect of New Zealand supplying Australia with agricultural produce as the advocates of the colony assert—the case seems rather to be *vice versa*.

NEW SOUTH WALES.



## CHAPTER I.

NEW SOUTH WALES—ITS DISCOVERY—COLONIZATION—PROGRESS—  
POPULATION—INCREASE OF STOCK, SHEEP, CATTLE AND HORSES—  
IMPORTS AND EXPORTS—REVENUE—SHIPPING.

NEW HOLLAND, otherwise called Australasia or Australia, was originally discovered by the Dutch, who named it after themselves.

It was many years afterwards visited by Captain Cook, who sailed along the entire eastern coast, which he took possession of in the name of the British Crown, and called New South Wales. New South Wales may be said to include all that part, from the Gulf of Carpentaria, which indents the northern coast to Wilson's Promontory on the shores of Bass's Straits, southward. This includes an extent of sea-coast of upwards of two thousand five hundred miles. Captain Cook first landed at Botany Bay, in latitude  $35^{\circ}$  south, and here erected a small mound of stones, in which he placed a flag-staff. This mound yet remains.

Some years after, in 1786, the British Government determined to found a penal colony here, and despatched

Governor Phillip with several vessels, a large number of convicts, and some troops for this purpose, who arrived in 1787. Botany Bay was their first place of destination, but Port Jackson being discovered some ten miles further to the northward, the expedition removed there, it being found more suitable for the purpose of founding a colony.

Port Jackson is a noble estuary, or arm of the sea, the entrance into which is between two bluff high mountains, about a mile and a half distant from one another. The main arm runs inland to the distance of fully fifteen miles, and off this a hundred bays and coves intersect the land on both sides. The shores are steep and rocky, covered with evergreens of every kind, that spring and take root between rocks. Such is the extent of this noble port, that any number of ships that could be assembled might here ride in perfect safety; and such is its convenience, that vessels can lie almost in any part of it close alongside the shore, with which they can communicate by a mere plank.

Sydney is situated on a promontory, extending out into the Bay, having on one side Sydney Cove, and on the other Cockle Bay.

Many islands dot the bays in various directions; on one of them there is a strong battery, lately erected to defend the approach to the town; it is called Pinchgut Island, and lies in the middle of the stream. On another island is an extensive establishment, where a very large number of the worst description of convicts are kept, who are compelled to work in heavy irons.

Here are large "siloes" hollowed out of the solid rocks,

for the purpose of granaries, where the Government store grain and Indian corn to provide against famines, which are liable to take place at intervals from excessive drought. Such was the period of 1838 and 1839, when no rain fell in New South Wales for nearly three years.

When first colonized, the entire inhabitants (white) were convicts, or those engaged in their management, together with the troops necessary to control them. Agriculture, and the erection of houses, and necessary public buildings, occupied the time of the convicts. Cattle, sheep, and horses, were only introduced by slow degrees, principally from the Cape of Good Hope and England, and at considerable expense. The animal food consumed was beef or pork imported in casks; fresh meat there was none, unless an occasional kangaroo brought by the Aborigines to the settlement.

From the first, the conduct of the Aborigines had been peaceable, if not friendly: they did not seem to resent the occupation of their land; but they afterwards became indignant when they found their fishing-grounds occupied by the new-comers, and this great source of their subsistence taken from them, unless they removed elsewhere. Yet at no period did colonization meet with any real or effectual opposition from the Aborigines; they might destroy a few sheep or cattle, burn a hut, or kill a man or so, but they fled from the presence of fire-arms, or were, with little resistance, destroyed by the whites.

As year after year advanced, the British Government carried out the principle of transportation to a greater



extent; many crimes of enormity met with this punishment, and the perpetrators were sent to swell the colonists in New South Wales.

The gradual progress of the colony was aided by the many vessels from time to time putting in for refreshments. These ships were engaged in the South Sea whaling trade, and resorted to Sydney, because it was a convenient port, and the only one at that time in those seas that Europeans occupied.

A large herd of cattle was accidentally discovered in the interior, at a place called, from the circumstance, Cow-pasture Plains, by a convict who had escaped from one of the gangs; but who, on making the discovery, came in to surrender, feeling assured the valuable discovery made by him would gain his pardon. These cattle were supposed to have been the produce of some said to have been landed at Botany Bay by Captain Cook, or to be the accumulated increase of a few head of those that had strayed, from time to time, into the bush, from amongst what had been imported since the settlement of the colony.

About the same time attention was given to sheep. This was owing to the great increase that was yielded by those imported, and the visible improvement that took place in the wool,<sup>a</sup> attributable to the climate, which seemed to suit its growth exceedingly. Several officers connected with the New South Wales Corps, a body of veterans that had been formed and sent to the colony as a local corps, turned their attention to this subject.

A Mr. McArthur imported from England and the continent many ewes and rams of the very finest breeds,

and by crossing them, obtained, by the aid of the climate, samples of wool such as never before had been exhibited in the English market. The attention of the Home authorities was drawn to the fact, and Mr. McArthur was rewarded by a grant of thirty thousand acres of land, at a place now called Camden, between thirty and forty miles from Sydney, one of the most beautiful and fertile spots in the entire colony.

By this encouragement, private enterprise was stimulated, and many persons of means left Great Britain for Australia; some indeed drawn thither on account of friends, who had been deported for political offences from Ireland and other places. On arrival in the colony every encouragement was offered to them, the Governor assisting them with advice and more substantial aid. The amount of their funds were inquired into by him, and on the cash being produced, grants of land, at mere nominal quit rents, were given in proportion to the capital possessed. Convict labour was also assigned to them without any charge, and not unfrequently grain given, and horses or bullocks lent, for the purpose of enabling them the more easily to proceed with the cultivation of the soil, and the growth of produce, which the constantly arriving convicts and settlers would require.

But it was not to the emigrant alone that such grants or favours were confined. When the convict, by good conduct, or in reward of some meritorious action, obtained a ticket of leave, that is permission to employ his labour for his own advantage; or, by lapse of time and the expiration of his sentence, became free; the same assistance was extended to him.

Land on application was assigned or granted; seed and implements given or lent them; together with beasts of burthen to plough up the soil. The temporary assistance of a gang of convicts, under their overseer, was often afforded to enable them, in the first instance, to clear and fence in their land, or erect places of abode for themselves, in the shape of wooden huts covered with bark or grass.

The whole authority may be said to have been invested, at that period, in the different Governors, who fortunately, in the earliest stages of the Colony, were active, intelligent, pains-taking men, and seem to have felt much interest in the prosperity and advancement of those around them.

It was a frequent thing for such Governors, particularly Governors Macquarie and Darling, to visit alone and unattended the many settlements or locations around Sydney or Paramatta, and after inspecting them, enter the houses of the occupiers, and inquire into their situation, wants, &c. If industry and perseverance were displayed by the manner in which the land had been cultivated and improved, before long the occupier received an extended grant, and further assistance. If he had been a convict, and his character admitted of investigation, since he obtained his freedom, permission was given for assigned servants to be allotted him from the convict barracks. But whenever drunkenness, indolence or neglect, appeared, the Governor passed on; the tenants were left to their own resources, and too frequently disposed of and made away with those grants, already given to them, in order to obtain the means of indulging in indolence and intoxication. Then, of course, they were

reduced to have recourse to manual labour, as servants in the employment of others, and very frequently even in that of the persons to whom they had disposed of their land, which might have made them independent and been the foundation of prosperity.

There is yet shown in Sydney a half acre allotment of ground, that had been conferred on a shoemaker by a previous Governor—in the early stage of the colony—to enable him to erect a house, and in the prosecution of his trade, benefit himself and be of service to the community. It is stated, on the best authority, that the shoemaker, who had been a convict, was so addicted to drinking, that he actually disposed of the land for a four gallon keg of rum, in order to satiate his appetite. That piece of land was, in the year 1839, disposed of by the person who had so purchased it, after holding it for thirty-five years, for the large sum of £6,500, whilst the very man who had originally sold it, was yet working at his trade as a journeyman in Sydney. This was not a solitary instance, it was more generally the case than otherwise.

At one period, any free person, whether an immigrant, or emancipated convict, could obtain almost without difficulty, plots of land in and around Sydney. Some parties, many of whom had been convicts, were always to be found ready to purchase allotments so obtained for a small sum. Most generally those who kept public-houses, or sly grog shops without a licence, were the parties into whose hands land, so sold, found its way; and in after years when the colony became more populated and prosperous, these individuals realized immense wealth.

It is not surprising, that, with such encouragement from the authorities, the free population of New South Wales should have prospered with land bestowed on them for nothing when they were able to cultivate it, and labour for merely supplying with the common necessities of life, the convicts who afforded it. But there was yet another great cause for this prosperity.

A home market existed for the produce obtained by industry : in the very large body of convicts constantly employed in the erection of public buildings, and the formation of roads, bridges, streets, and the clearing of lands, under the control and direction of government. At that period, no portion of the support of these convicts, so employed, fell on the free inhabitants : the entire of it was defrayed by grants from Parliament at home for that purpose. Joined to this, there was a considerable military and civil force necessary to control and manage such a large body of convicts ; and the consumption of these added largely to the demand. Thus had the early colonists always a market on the spot for what they could grow ; and, as before stated, this demand did not arise from among themselves, but through a class which rendered a constant importation of cash absolutely necessary to pay for such things as were supplied them ; these were convicts employed in non-remunerating works, which tended to no immediate return, or exchange between themselves, and the agricultural and grazing portion of the community.

Such a constant influx of money as was necessary to defray the expense of a large commissariat, which had

generally upwards of 1000 troops, and 8000 convicts in gaol, or under government employment, to supply, besides contingent expenses, could not but accumulate a large mass of wealth in the hands of the free population; which in the year 1821, including the troops, did not much exceed the prison population of the colony: the relative numbers being in that year—free, 15,969, bond, 13,814, or 116 free, to 100 bond. Of the total number of the population in 1821, 21,693 were males, and 8,090 females, or 37 females to every 100 males, which must be looked upon as both a vast and demoralizing disproportion of the sexes.

At the period of 1821, when the first census was taken in the colony, there were 3,762 males, and 3,462 females, who had been born in the colony of white parents. The census has never taken any account of the Aboriginal population.

Soon after the settlement of the colony, female convicts as well as male were introduced, but not to an equal extent; in fact, for many years, with but very few exceptions, they were the only females in the country.

So great has been the actual want of females, that many Government officials and officers of the New South Wales corps took unto themselves convict wives, without even waiting till they acquired their freedom.

This the executive permitted, and then, as now, any free man could obtain from the barracks, where the females are confined, a wife on application; it being only necessary to prove that the applicant was not previously married. These wives could be returned to the factory on misconduct, for punishment, or continued imprisonment, by being

brought before a magistrate; they not having become absolutely free when they married, but only being permitted to adopt that state as an indulgence.

In 1828, when the next census was taken, the proportion of females had not increased, but rather otherwise. At that time, the population was—males, 27,611: females, 8,987, thus only showing 33 females to every 100 males.

Of the entire proportion in 1828, 36,598, the civil condition was as follows: viz., free, 20,930; bond, 15,668: or 134 free to 100 bond.

It must at all times be remembered that a very considerable portion of those classed as free have been at some previous time convicts; having obtained their freedom by their good conduct, or the expiration of the term of punishment to which they had been sentenced.

Up to 1830, there had been no considerable immigration; so that, in fact, up to that period the much larger portion of the population had either been convicts or were the children of such; very few, except persons in government situations, soldiers, or persons with capital, having come out free.

In 1833, there was a very vast increase in the population, in consequence of immigration; it then reached to 60,861, more than double the number in 1821, a lapse of only twelve years. Of these the civil position was—free, 36,318; bond, 24,543. The proportion of the sexes was—males, 44,688, females, 16,173, or thirty-six females to every hundred males.

Of the population in 1833, there had been born in the



colony 10,229 ; viz., males, 5,265 ; females, 4,944, which shows a disproportion against the females, who were most required, in order to equalize the proportion of the sexes. It is a most remarkable fact, and one well worthy of notice, that throughout the census of the various periods that have been taken, the relative number of the births of male children in the colony exceed the female, which is quite opposite to the case in every other country.

In 1836, a lapse of only three years, there had been a further increase of twenty-six per cent. in the population.

The census of 1836, shows the inhabitants to be 77,096, of whom there were : free, 49,265 ; bond, 27,831 ; or 177 free, to 100 bond. The relative proportion of the sexes had become a little more equalized, there being males 55,539, females 21,557, or thirty-nine females to every hundred males.

Again the census of 1841, shows a still further increase in the proportion of free to bond ; a greater equalization of the sexes ; and a total increase in the population of near seventy per cent. in five years.

The return of 1841, rates the total inhabitants at 130,856, of whom there were, free 101,749 ; bond, 26,977 ; or 377 free to 100 bond. The relative proportions of the sexes were ; males 87,298, females 43,558, or two males to every one female. Of the population of 1841, 29,449 had been born in the colony, of which there were : males 14,819, females 14,630.

Thus in twenty years, from 1821 to 1841, had the proportion of the free to the bond been increased from little more than an equality to three and three quarters as

many ; and now that transportation to this colony, except in the case of females, has for some time ceased, the proportion is vastly increasing in favour of the free, owing to births and immigration.

From the first foundation of the colony of New South Wales to the year 1840, when male transportation to that colony ceased, there had been landed there, male convicts 51,082, female convicts 8,706 ; or but seventeen females for every hundred males. In 1841, of the total number of convicts who had arrived in the colony as above stated, there were living either free, or in servitude, 46,374, of whom there were : males 39,604, females 6,770 ; or one female to nearly every six males.

The immigrants living, who had arrived in the colony, numbered in 1841, 52,903, of whom there were : males 30,745, females 22,158 ; or but 72 females for every 100 males : thus shewing even in immigration a great disparity in the proper and healthy proportion of the sexes.

In all new countries, this disproportion is likely to exist, because females are not suited in general to be the pioneers of civilization, and are not equal to the heavy tasks inevitable in such a position ; but in no other new country, has this peculiarity ever existed, in such a high degree as in New South Wales. Even in Canada (Upper), the relative proportion is 90 females to every 100 males.

And this disproportion of the sexes is particularly felt in New South Wales on account of the climate, and is strongly exhibited in the small number of unmarried females (adult), in comparison to the unmarried adult free males, who were 19,831 ; while there were but 1,580 un-

married females, and even three fourths of these, in 1841, were assigned servants, in various families, from the female factory at Paramatta. It is no wonder, therefore, that in such a state of society, deep-seated vice should exist, and abominable offences be practised to an appalling extent. Religious education can have but little effect on those minds already steeped in and accustomed to vice, where the great disproportion of one sex presents an insuperable obstacle to the gratification of one of the most natural desires bestowed on man—that of taking to himself a helpmate.

It is greatly to be desired, that this appalling state of society should not long continue, and that the early importation of a large number of female immigrants, or convicts even, should be resorted to, in order to effect an equalization of the sexes.

Between the years 1841 and 1843, there has been a considerable increase in the population of New South Wales, the greater portion arising from immigration. After that period, very large numbers of persons, in fact some thousands, either left the colony for England, or for the west coast of America, particularly Valparaiso, where a most extensive fire took place about that time, and created a large demand for mechanics and artizans. This was, in a great measure, owing to the mercantile and monetary embarrassments of the colony at the time; and the very great proportion of mechanics and tradesmen, amongst the immigrants, and the demand for whom was but limited, owing to the small number of the entire population.

In 1846, there were in the entire colony of New South

Wales, including Port Phillip or Australia Felix, about one hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants; of which, in round numbers, thirty thousand may be put down for Australia Felix; leaving to Sydney and New South Wales one hundred and fifty thousand.

It is a strange fact, that in this new country, between the 31st December 1842, and the 1st October 1843, the population absolutely decreased, as far as the adults were concerned, to the extent of upwards of five hundred; but increased, on the whole, owing to the number of children born, by upwards of four thousand.

The exact population, at the end of 1843, stood thus: including Port Phillip, males 102,447, females 61,579. Yet this does not show the exact proportion of the sexes, in the Sydney part of New South Wales, to which the writer now confines himself, excluding the district of Australia Felix, which he does not look upon as intended by nature to form a part of New South Wales, and which no doubt will soon be officially separated from it. When this shall take place, it will much conduce to the prosperity of Port Phillip; as, at present, it is too distant from the seat of government. In Port Phillip, the proportion of the female sex to the male, is nearly as five of the former are to six of the latter; this is accounted for by the population being nearly all immigrants.

In the middle of the past year, 1846, a census of the population of New South Wales was taken. In it, that of the Port Phillip district is included, but distinguished under a separate head, as far as regards the gross amount, but not as respects other statistics of age, sex, religion, &c.

The total number of inhabitants in the entire of New South Wales, including Port Phillip and the locations beyond the boundary, according to this census: is, 189,609; of these there are, males 114,769, females 74,840. In New South Wales alone, exclusive of Port Phillip, there were 154,534. Of these, there were living within the boundaries of location, males 80,576, females 58,307. Beyond the bounds of location, those engaged in tending stock were, males 11,813, females 3,838. This strongly exhibits the dislike squatters have to employ females, in any way, on distant stations.

The proportion of the sexes, since 1841, has advanced considerably towards equalization, having become about three males to two females. This has been caused by the increase of births, the stoppage of transportation, and the dying off of the males from natural causes. Yet the disproportion of unmarried males to that of females was extreme; it being calculated that there were 44,300 unmarried adult males, to 4,860 adult unmarried females, so that if the 44,300 adult males wished, in the course of nature, to get married, but little more than one tenth of them could obtain wives in the colony; is it, therefore, to be wondered at that the most revolting offences yet continue to be largely practised? The married males amount in number, by this census, to 31,137, the married females to 31,140. But the course of years promises to correct the vast disproportion of unmarried adult females to that of males, as the number of males under fourteen, were but 32,996, whilst the females of the same ages amounted to 32,392. The males, from fourteen to twenty-one, are 7,075, females, of a corresponding age, 7,387.

The census gives the number of the crews of colonial vessels, principally engaged in the South Sea whaling trade; they number 2,196.

Turning to the religious tenets of the population, it appears that about half the entire inhabitants are members of the Church of England; fifty-six thousand are Roman Catholics, twenty-two thousand are members of the Church of Scotland, and thirteen thousand are Wesleyan Methodists, or other dissenting Protestants. Somewhere about ten thousand convicts remained in government employment, private assignment, or under the control of the police, holding tickets of leave, enabling them to benefit by their own labour, and remain partially free during good conduct.

A very great proportion of the inhabitants of New South Wales, dwell in towns; in 1836, there resided in towns, 28,740; in 1841, 53,547; while in 1846, they were supposed to amount to 71,000.

The number of deaths, amongst the population, is very small in proportion to either its extent, or to the births; in 1840, the deaths were 2,382; whilst the births amounted to 4,233. The small comparative number of the deaths is not only accounted for by the salubrity of climate, but by the general youth of both the immigrants and convicts, when they arrive in the colony, a greater portion being below the prime of life; so that since the population of the colony has become considerable, there has been scarce time for any one to become old, and die from that cause. Indeed, in passing through the country, the fact has often attracted attention, that so very few aged persons are to be met with.

The writer has devoted more space to the statistics of the population of the colony of New South Wales than he had originally intended; but its strange and anomalous position, as regards its prison population and the disparity of sexes, has induced him to do so; and on that account it may prove interesting to the reader. The entire average of mortality in New South Wales, for the ten years ending 1846, was one in fifty-three: thus proving the salubrity of the climate, combined with the circumstances already stated.

When it is considered that at the period of the first settlement of any part of Australia in 1787, but sixty years since, no description of stock, either sheep or cattle, were known to exist there, the present extent of its flocks and herds is extraordinary, and proves that both soil and climate must be well suited for the production of them. It was not even till some years after the foundation of the colony, that sheep or cattle were introduced to any extent, or created much attention.

To the officers of the New South Wales corps, and even the privates of that body, who almost all became settlers and farmers, the credit of promoting the first considerable growth of stock is due. The McArthurs, the Jamiesons, the Lawsons, the Pipers, and others of that body, many of whom yet live, were the principal promoters of that most laudable and successful endeavour.

In 1787, not one head of sheep or cattle grazed on the lands of New South Wales, whilst in 1843, owing to the enterprize and energy of the colonists, the official returns shewed the following result, exclusive of the districts of



Within the boundaries of location or settlement: sheep, 1,596,417 ; cattle, 304,886 ; horses, 40,184 ; pigs, 43,145.

Without the boundaries of regular location, and on unsurveyed land, in the occupation of squatters, there were : sheep, 1,804,096 ; cattle, 491,541 ; horses, 11,796.

There was no return of pigs beyond the boundaries, because they are subject to no assessment as other stock is, and therefore no mention is made of them in the Crown Lands Commissioner's reports. In January, 1845, in the entire of New South Wales, including Port Phillip, there were : 5,600,000 sheep ; January, 1846, sheep, 6,860,000 ; and in January, 1847, sheep in round numbers, 8,000,000 ; cattle, 1,600,000—besides horses and pigs.

Although a new system of disposing of the stock, both sheep and cattle, by means of boiling them down for the sake of the fat and hides, was first resorted to in 1843 on a most extensive scale, yet it does not seem to make a sensible impression on the vast herds and flocks that cover the land, or present any effectual bar to their still vast progressive increase.

The climate of Australia seems so admirably to suit the growth of sheep, that a flock of young ewes, properly attended to, yields in most instances, and rears, an increase of considerably more than one hundred per cent. Cattle thrive equally well, and seem to be as prolific as human beings, and all other descriptions of animal life in this climate.

The liberty that cattle enjoy, roaming almost unchecked over plain, hill, and valley, tend no doubt to promote their natural growth; they are, in consequence, generally

speaking, much larger in the interior than they are in more civilized countries.

The sheep, in general, are not of a heavy description, averaging from fifty to sixty pounds weight when fat; this kind is found to be most suitable to the climate and soil, and better calculated to subsist on the light herbage on which they are generally pastured.

The race of horses at present in use in Australia is not to be surpassed in the world for symmetry and endurance. It is hard to say exactly how they are bred, for there have been large importations of mares from Chili and Peru; stallions of the pure Arab breed from India, and also from England and the Cape of Good Hope.

Much pains have been bestowed on the breeding of these animals, and the result has richly rewarded the exertion. It is no unusual thing, without any preparation, for a person to mount a horse just taken off the grass, and ride him, in some instances, as much as one hundred miles over a country where, perhaps, no sign of a road exists.

It is an every day occurrence for stockmen and others to take out a horse and ride him without intermission, except at night, for ten days or more, at the rate of fifty or sixty miles a day, giving him nothing to subsist on in the mean time but what herbage he is able to pick up in the woods and forests at night; then he is either hobbled or attached to a tree, around which there is some feeding, by means of a long tether rope.

The writer, at one period, effected the journey from Sydney to Port Phillip on one horse, in the space of ten days, the distance being 600 miles; for three-fourths of which

distance there is no road, and there are many rivers to swim in the route.

The extraordinary power of endurance and great speed possessed by the Australian horses, is scarcely to be conceived by any, except those by whom they have been tested. Little grooming, particularly, in the interior, is ever bestowed on them, and they seldom, except in towns, receive any corn, neither are they housed, being exposed to all variations of the climate.

With regard to the swine, there is nothing remarkable; they are kept in the neighbourhood of dairy-farms or melting establishments, on the offal of which they are fed; or they are permitted to run free over swamps, where they find roots and herbs to subsist on, being merely kept within bounds by a lad who attends them, and drives them to the farm at night.

In the early stages of the colony, the imports and exports were limited, the latter more particularly, as its resources were not at that period developed.

In consequence of the large convict establishment and military force retained to control it, there was a large import trade on their account alone, no portion of which had to be met by returns from the colonists. That portion of the import trade, also, which did not require returns to meet it on the part of the colonists, was swelled by the extensive arrival, from time to time, of settlers, many of whom had purchased, with their capital, goods at home, for sale in the colony; consequently, nothing went out of the country in return for these articles, for the importer was paid on the spot in land, cattle, sheep, or money which afterwards went to purchase some of

these, and so did not decrease the circulating medium of the place, or go to swell the exports by the purchase of goods for shipment, in return for those imported. Such reasons caused the imports vastly to exceed the exports, till within the last few years.

In 1828, at which period the population, free and bond, was 36,598, the imports amounted in value to £570,000, with a shipping of 137 vessels, and 32,559 tons. Exports, value £90,050, vessels 69, tonnage, 20,126.

In 1833, when the inhabitants had reached to upwards of 60,000, the exports had increased in value to £394,801, whilst the imports reached £713,972. The shipping employed was, inwards, 210 vessels, tonnage, 50,164; outwards, 213 vessels, tonnage, 49,702.

In 1836, the period of the next census, the population being 77,000 and odd, the imports had still further increased to £1,101,676; exports, £748,624; shipping, inwards, vessels 269, tonnage, 65,415; outwards, vessels 264, tonnage, 62,834.

In 1840, the increase in imports, exports, and shipping was much greater in proportion than it had been between either of the before mentioned periods; the imports amounted in value to £2,855,102, with 709 vessels of 178,958 tons. Exports, £1,399,692, with 665 vessels of 163,704 tons burthen.

Such had become the extent of imports in 1839 and 1840, on account of merchants, who, in the course of trade, should return an equivalent in goods or money, that the monetary position of the colony suffered much; the markets became flooded with goods, some of which were not at all required, or out of proportion altogether to the

demand that existed for them. The consequence was, that when shippers in England found they could not obtain returns for the goods sent, or that if they did so, it was at ruinous losses, they abstained from speculating, and the imports of the colony very largely fell off.

Indeed, such was the decrease of imports in 1847, that they were expected to fall very far short of two millions; whilst the exports had so increased, that they very far exceeded them in value, leaving a large balance of trade in favour of the colony; in fact, to the amount of several hundred thousand pounds. In the statistics of the years 1836 and 1840, above-mentioned, the oil produced by the whaling trade and fisheries carried on by Sydney vessels, or with New South Wales' capital, is included among the exports; the value of this article in 1840 being £104,895.

Such has been the general prosperity of New South Wales, that its expenditure has seldom exceeded its ordinary revenue. Of course, in the expenditure to be met by the colony, a considerable portion of the expense entailed by the convicts is not included, as that was defrayed by the Home Government.

In 1828, the entire revenue was £94,862; expenditure for the same year, £97,952.

In 1836, the revenue amounted to £330,533; expenditure, £217,877.

In 1840, the revenue had nearly doubled that of 1836: it was £653,127; expenditure, £517,494.

In 1841, and subsequent years, the revenue has decreased apparently, but this is owing to the sales of Crown lands being included in the above revenue returns;

so that, when the land mania that existed in 1840 and previously had abated, or, in fact, ceased, little or no revenue was derived from the sale of Crown lands, which no one could be found to purchase.

The sum included in the revenue of 1836, obtained from Crown lands, was £132,397; in the year 1840, it amounted to the large sum of £342,658.

The revenue of the year 1846 rather exceeded the expenditure, although, but a very small portion of it was derived\* from the sale of Crown lands, being principally collected in the ordinary way from duties on imports; also from a small assessment on the stock depasturing beyond the boundaries; on Crown lands, and licences for the occupation of such land; and the right to keep public houses or inns—the sum charged for the license of a place for the retail of spirits being thirty pounds.

There are no internal taxes of any other kind, except in such towns as enjoy the rights and privileges of a corporate borough; in such, of course, there is a borough-rate levied for local purposes; but this is entirely under the control and management of the inhabitants themselves, who also contribute towards the support of their own police, the government giving a moiety from the general revenue for the same purpose.

The principal part of the revenue is obtainable from the duty on spirits and tobacco, the consumption of these articles being extremely large. In 1839 some large local distilleries, particularly one in the occupation of a Mr. Cooper, existed in the colony; but although the spirits they distilled were almost without exception obtained

\* The Estimates for 1848 will be found in the Appendix at the



from sugar and molasses, imported and subject only to a light duty, yet advantage was taken of the extreme scarcity of the years 1838 and 1839 by Sir George Gipps, to pass a bill through the Legislative Council, then composed only of Crown nominees, effecting the abolition of these distilleries, and giving power to the executive to remunerate the owners for the loss sustained in consequence.

The effect, for a time, was to throw the entire colonial consumption of spirits upon foreign produce; but colonial distillation has been re-established during the last two years.

Rectifying distilleries were numerous established in Sydney, and notwithstanding the strict watch of the excise authorities, illicit distillation was carried on to an immense extent. One of the modes resorted to, was to import Sicilian and other wines of great strength—in some instances, fifty and sixty per cent of spirit being in the wine—which as mere wine bore only a small *ad valorem* duty. When landed, this wine was rectified, and the spirit distilled from it; but the attention of the authorities was drawn to this, and the trade put a stop to. Even in the main street in Sydney, George Street, there existed, in 1841, an illicit distillery on an immense scale. One portion of it was a rectifying establishment, which was openly carried on; but communication was made by pipes with other houses, and underground premises, where most extensive works existed. After being carried on for nearly two years, information was privately given, and a seizure effected, there being many thousand gallons of spirits and wash taken. The owner was heavily fined, but the length of time he had carried on the concern enabled him to pay the fines, and retire with a very large fortune.



The revenue from tobacco is annually decreasing, as the manufacture of the colonial grown plant is so much improved of late years, as in a great measure to throw foreign leaf out of the market, except for the use of the upper classes. Colonial tobacco bears no duty, while on foreign there is a very heavy one.

Subjoined is a statement of the Revenue of New South Wales for the seven years ending 1846, and of the disbursements for the same period.

Balance in hand, January 1839	.	.	.	£285,358
Receipts total for 1839	.	.	.	427,368
Cash total	.	.	.	<u>712,726</u>
Total disbursements including cost of emigration for 1839.				567,966
Balance in hand January 1840	.	.	.	<u>144,760</u>
Total receipts for 1840	.	.	.	682,473
Cash total	.	.	.	<u>827,233</u>
Total disbursements including cost of emigration for 1840.				561,023
Balance in hand January 1841	.	.	.	<u>266,210</u>
Total receipts for 1841	.	.	.	497,303
Cash total	.	.	.	<u>763,513</u>
Total disbursements including cost of emigration for 1841.				756,581
Balance in hand, January 1842	.	.	.	<u>6,932</u>
Total receipts for 1842	.	.	.	523,030
Cash total	.	.	.	<u>529,962</u>
Total disbursements including cost of emigration for 1842.				503,763
Balance in hand, January 1843	.	.	.	<u>26,199</u>
Total receipts for 1843	.	.	.	350,891
Cash total	.	.	.	<u>377,090</u>
Total disbursements including cost of emigration for 1843.				369,490
Balance in hand, January 1844	.	.	.	<u>7,600</u>
Total receipts for 1844	.	.	.	386,617
Cash total	.	.	.	<u>394,217</u>
Total disbursements including cost of emigration for 1844.				345,584

Balance in hand, January 1845	.	.	.	£48,633
Total receipts for 1845	.	.	.	366,687
				<hr/>
Cash total	.	.	.	415,320
Total disbursements including cost of emigration for 1845.				292,768
				<hr/>
Total balance in hand, January 1846	.	.	.	122,552
				<hr/>

In the years 1842 and 1844 there were debentures and treasury bills issued by the Executive for the purpose of promoting emigration to the colony; the total amount of these was £169,963, which still remain a charge on the colonial revenue, unless liquidated within the present year.

The Revenue is classed under two heads, viz.: the General Revenue, and the Crown Revenue; the latter includes all sums received for licenses for squatting or occupation; the sale of waste lands, and, indeed, all sums arising in any way from land. The great declension in the receipts is attributable to the small extent of land sold within the last two or three years; and it will be perceived what a vast reduction has taken place chiefly from this cause in the Crown Revenue.

	General Revenue.	Crown Revenue.	Gross Revenue.
1839	£240,429	£186,939	£427,368
1840	310,468	372,005	682,473
1841	373,655	123,648	497,303
1842	367,214	61,517	428,731
1843	294,312	56,579	350,891
1844	269,725	44,288	310,953
1845	283,946	82,741	366,687
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	£2,136,749	£927,657	£3,064,406
			<hr/>
Debentures issued in 1842 and 1844 . . . .			169,963
			<hr/>
Total receipts for the seven years ending 1846 . . . .			£3,234,369

The above return includes the district of Australia Felix, the land sales in which realized about £400,000 of the Crown Revenue stated above.

According to a return compiled in Sydney, it appears that a large increase had taken place, up to May 1847, in the shipping belonging to that port. The entire number of vessels was 250, and the total tonnage 21,285.

Vessels.		Tons.		Tons.	Total Tonnage.
53	were under	20			836
34	were from	21	to	30	865
26	„	31	„	40	220
23	„	41	„	50	1040
6	„	51	„	60	348
7	„	61	„	70	451
21	„	71	„	100	1751
24	„	101	„	150	2988
22	„	151	„	200	3809
24	„	201	„	300	5523
10	„	407	„	500	3454

Sixty-nine of these, with a tonnage of 13,553, had been built in Great Britain, North America, or India. The remainder, consisting chiefly of the smaller vessels, 181 in number and of 8,402 tons burden, were built in the colony. The former chiefly are engaged in the South-Sea Whale fisheries, while the latter are mostly engaged in the coasting trade. The number of steamers in the colony is fourteen. It may be said, that the entire of the shipping is solely owned by persons residing in the colony.

## CHAPTER II.

SYDNEY—ITS POPULATION—RELIGION—CORPORATION—ENVIRONS—  
PUBLIC HOUSES—BUILDINGS AND GARDENS—POLICE-OFFICE.

THE promontory on which Sydney is situated runs out into the main estuary of Port Jackson. It is surrounded on three sides by water, and on the fourth by a sandy soil, which extends towards Paramatta, many portions of it covered with a thick, nearly inaccessible scrub.

By a return from the Surveyor-General of New South Wales' Office, it appears that Sydney includes an area of two and three quarters square miles, or 1778 acres statute measure.

Its extreme length, from its northern point at Dawes' Battery to its southern boundary, is two miles and a half; its mean breadth, one mile and an eighth. This is merely the Borough, as defined by an Act of Council, passed in the reign of William IV., and does not include any of the extensive suburbs, New Town, Petersham, &c.; or any of the crowded localities on the shores in the vicinity, of which Darling's Point, St. Leonards, the north shore, Balmain, Pyrmont, and the Glebe, form the principal; although many of these, from their contiguity, may almost be said to form a part of the city.

The promontory on which the town is situated, particularly towards the sea, or the north end, is extremely rocky, and rises in the centre to a considerable height. The streets in that part, George Street, Clarence Street, Cumberland Street, and Princes Street, forming a complete succession of terraces, from the water's edge in Sydney Cove, to an elevation of at least three hundred feet.

This was the portion of the town first built; and not a few of its houses are now falling into dilapidation, on account of its having become the St. Giles's of the town, and forming the resort of all the bad characters and crimps that an extensive convict and sea-faring population must necessarily generate. The streets and lanes, in this vicinity, are in many parts impassable for wheeled vehicles, and nearly so for the accommodation of foot-passengers. Rows of steps have been cut into the solid rock which forms the surface of some of the streets, and the foundation of all the buildings; these are, in general, erected of the soft, sandy, white stone, found on the spot, and which soon acquires consistency when exposed to the weather.

• George Street, which traverses Sydney from end to end, and forms its main artery, is not only the chief place of business, but as it extends south, it is off this street, at right angles, that most of the principal thoroughfares run, the remaining streets being parallel to it. Here are to be found the Barracks, occupying the most central and best situation for business in the entire place; it contains very many acres, and is nearly a level space.

It has been in the contemplation of the Government, for some time, to remove the Barracks from this position to the outside of the town; and now that the military force in the colony is about to be considerably reduced, and the extensive accommodation that the present building affords is not required, it would be well if the Colonial Office, in a spirit of liberality, would bestow this valuable space on the Corporation of the town for public purposes. It might be made not only a source of revenue to the town, but the general place of business, and a principal means of beautifying this infant city. Many of the houses in Sydney are beautiful and extensive buildings, some of white native stone, and would reflect credit on any capital in Europe. At the corner of George Street and Charlotte Place, stands an auction-mart, unequalled in London; it was built some years ago and afterwards occupied by Mr. Samuel Lyons, an auctioneer, who had at one time been a convict; in fact, he had received an additional sentence for some offence in the colony, and had been sent to one of the penal settlements to the northward; yet, although he could with difficulty sign his own name, he carried on a business second to none, and in 1840, was supposed to be one of the wealthiest men in the colony. The commercial distress of 1842, however, came, and he participated in the difficulties of that period. An idea may be formed of this auction-mart, by the fact, that when Mr. Lyons was absent from the colony in 1838 and 1839, it was let at the rate of £1,500 per annum.

As well as places of business and shops, there are

numbers of superior private houses, particularly at the south end of an open railed-in space, called Hyde Park; some of these, one range in particular of noble buildings, were erected by Mr. Lyons, the auctioneer. In the neighbourhood of the Government Domain, there are also fine abodes, as well as in Macquarie Street, where the most splendid mansion in Sydney stands; with this some circumstances are connected well worth the relation.

A person named Burdekin, an extensive ironmonger and storekeeper, had amassed by his trade and private discounting on an extensive scale, a vast fortune. Whether true or false, no man in Sydney was both so much disliked on account of the usurious interest, as it was asserted, he exacted from those who were so unfortunate as to fall into his hands, and so much feared on account of the power his wealth, joined with the manner he employed it, gave him over any one who had occasion to pass bills, and wanted accommodation, as it was exceedingly likely the bills would find their way into his hands.

Well, this Mr. Burdekin took it into his head to purchase an extensive piece of ground in one of the highest situations in Sydney, and in the immediate vicinity of the Club-House of the New South Wales' aristocracy, many of the members of which had particular reasons for not being much attached to the discounting gentleman. The land once purchased, the erection of a pile of costly magnificence was proceeded with, and ultimately completed.

The building was one better fitted for the abode of an earl in England, than the residence of a colonial



shopkeeper in Sydney. Mr. Burdekin, proud in the accumulation and enjoyment of his great wealth, now lived in the sight, 'as he had formerly done in the conversation and minds, of his fellow townsmen. But shortly after the building was completed—and before it was taken possession of as a residence by the builder's family—a stranger, and one comparatively poor, arrived from England; he had been in the colony years before, but was supposed to be dead. As he landed, he gazed around the much-changed prospect; where nothing but rocks or tea-tree scrub formerly existed, large shops or noble mansions now stood. The survey was continued; amazement turned into joy, as from the inmost recesses of an old trunk, the stranger drew a large official paper, dark with time and neglect.

A small map at the foot was easily scanned, conviction was the result; and after consulting some old friends who had known him in former days, the newly-arrived stranger proceeded, on the following day, with the assistance of some others, to relieve Mr. Burdekin of the care of his house. Possession was taken, and, amidst the greatest astonishment, retained. Legal proceedings ensued; but after a short time the builder became satisfied that he was “done;” that his title was bad; so in order to make the best of such a bad concern, and sooner than lose his house, he had to enter into an arrangement to allow the “stranger,” who in reality held the original grant, the handsome sum of £600 per annum for his life. Such, however, was the annoyance of mind he suffered in consequence of thus having expended £16,000 or £18,000 on another man's land, and the

constant "iteration" of the circumstance by those who bore him no good will, that his health gave way, and he descended into the grave with few regrets, the victim of mortification. The house, to which a grand name had been originally given, is now known as Burdekin's "Folly;" and none who visit Sydney can fail to remark this ambitious monument.

The number of houses within the borough of Sydney, in 1846, rather exceeded 5,000, of which about 1,100 were wooden, the remainder of stone and brick. Not more than 100 were uninhabited, and the greater portion of these even were in course of erection or undergoing repairs.

Under a Building Act passed some years since by the Legislative Council, no wooden buildings are allowed to be erected within the boundaries of the city; and those of stone and brick are subject to certain rules, under the inspection of district surveyors.

The population of Sydney in 1821, was about 6,000, including convicts; in 1828, it was 10,815; in 1836, it had increased to 19,729; in 1841, it reached 29,973, and in 1846, it numbered about 40,000; of these, in 1846, there were only 2,000 convicts, most of whom were females assigned to private families. The remainder of the population was composed of emancipists, immigrants, and their progeny.

Of the inhabitants of Sydney, from a return of 1846, it appears that there were, of both sexes, little more than 700 persons above the age of sixty; this is accounted for by the large number of immigrants and convicts, most of whom are of middle age or under.

The greater proportion of the population of Sydney

are Protestants of the Established Church, at present numbering upwards of 20,000. According to an official return of 1841, there were amongst the inhabitants:— Church of England 16,505, Roman Catholics 8,126, Church of Scotland, or Presbyterians, 3,111, Wesleyan Methodists 827, other Protestants 880, Jews 462, Mahomedans or Pagans 62.

There is, in reality, no established religion in New South Wales, or Sydney, its capital; there are no less than four churches which receive assistance from the State to a large extent, both in salaries and otherwise, viz.:— Church of England, Roman Catholic, Church of Scotland or Presbyterian, and Wesleyan; assistance is also yielded by grants of land and otherwise to the Baptists, to a small extent, and even to the Jews.

In none, indeed, of the British colonies are the various religions, before-named, so well provided for. As soon as a clergyman of any of the four sects, last-mentioned, is able to bring together in one locality three hundred attendants on his ministry, he becomes entitled to a salary from the Government, of about £150 per annum, which increases, up to a certain limit, with the extent of his flock.

In new localities, where a congregation of three hundred are assembled, they become entitled to a grant of land from the Crown for the erection of a church, schools, and parsonage-house; also to pecuniary aid, as far as £1,200, in proportion to the voluntary contributions raised; but in no instance is any portion of the pecuniary aid afforded, till a certain stated sum is raised among the communicants of the intended church, and deposited

in some bank to the credit of certain trustees. This, of course, is merely to act as a check against numerous claims, without any real foundation, being made on the Government under religious pretences.

There are at Sydney many very fine churches, chapels, and other places of worship; St. Philip's church is a neat, commodious structure. An extensive metropolitan church of stone has been for some years in course of erection, in a very commanding situation, towards the southern end of George Street; in architectural beauty it will very much exceed any other religious edifice—but it proceeds slowly.

The principal Catholic church is a very large building; it stands in an isolated position on the eastern side of Hyde Park, and close to the Government domain. The interior of this structure is ornamented in the Gothic style with pillars covered with polished cedar; and the ceiling is entirely composed of the same wood, after the model of the pillars, which creates a unique and beautiful effect. In this church, as at other places of worship, a strange effect is produced by many hundreds of the convicts marching in in their *prison* dress, under a large guard of soldiers, to attend service. On such occasions, one side of the body of the building is entirely set apart for them, to prevent any of the congregation mixing with the unfortunates.

The Presbyterians possess several places of worship, one of which belongs to the seceders of that body, or, as they are now called, the "Free" Church.

There are also Wesleyan and Baptist meeting-houses, and the Jews have a synagogue in Bridge Street.

The Protestant Church, of both Van Dieman's Land and the entire of Australia, was formerly presided over by the Bishop, Dr. Broughton, of Sydney; but since 1842 there have been established the Sees of Van Dieman's Land, Adelaide, Port Phillip, and one to the northward of Sydney, comprising the Hunter's River district, and all the settlements northward of that river.

Sydney is the seat of a Catholic Archbishop's See, which is at present filled by the Rev. Mr. Polding, who, as well as Dr. Broughton, is in receipt of a considerable salary from the Government.

While speaking of religion, the name of the Rev. Dr. Lang, who was for years at the head of the Church of Scotland in this colony, must not be omitted; he is, at present, connected with the "Free" Church, or Seceders. Few have done more to advance the interests of Australia, and bring them before the notice of the public than he has; although many do not consider it judicious for a clergyman to occupy a seat in a secular body, like the Legislative Assembly, to which he was elected by the people of the Port Phillip district. Many works on different subjects have emanated from the reverend gentleman's pen, and his connection with these colonies has been of long duration.

In fact, it was owing to him that the introduction of free labour into New South Wales, to any extent, first took place; and the Highlanders and other Scotch settlers, who were introduced under his superintendence, have proved, many of them, the most prosperous, as well as the most useful, men in the colony. The writer is now only meting out a well-earned share of commendation to the Reverend

Doctor in a secular point of view ; in religious matters the Doctor does, indeed, go too far at times ; and religious animosities are no where more to be reprehended than in new countries.

In the year 1842, under the direction of the Colonial Office, a series of Bills, to incorporate all the large towns of New South Wales and its dependencies, were introduced to, and passed by, the Legislative Council of the colony, of which no portion at that time were elective.

Thus in 1842, Sydney became a city, with its Mayor, Aldermen and Town Councillors. Much party spirit and bad political feeling were displayed during the first election for municipal officers. Bad as home election riots used to be, they were fully equalled, if not exceeded, by the scenes in Sydney, when the residents of that place were first called upon to exercise their franchise. Thousands of pounds were spent on that occasion in canvassing, and the wholesale distribution of drink.

Some curious scenes took place in the vicinity of a polling booth. One of the police magistrates was endeavouring to preserve order ; the drunken infuriated mob drove him into an enclosure surrounded with high palings, some five feet from the ground, where they pelted him with bricks, stones and large pieces of the paling. Fortunately for him he was well mounted, and although he had but one leg, by a daring jump he cleared the fence and escaped.

In another part, the writer saw a still worse scene enacted. Near the signal station at the north end of the town, there had been erected a polling booth : during the excitement, the tent which partly composed it, had



been pulled down, and one of the candidates, a ship owner of the colony, had been maltreated, and several others hurt. Without applying to the authorities, the ship owner proceeded to the bay, where he had several whalers lying, and arming some scores of their crews with harpoons, whaling knives, and other such formidable weapons, returned with them to the place of polling, and with cold steel swept mob and electors from the place, but not without a desperate resistance, in which several persons were severely injured. This was rather a novel way of carrying an election; the gentleman—as he was called in the colony—was afterwards tried for severely stabbing a person with a cane sword on the occasion, and escaped conviction with difficulty.

Some of the parties who procured a place in the first Sydney Town Council were emancipists, or persons who had obtained their freedom by pardon, or through the expiration of their sentence; and not a few of the others were the proprietors of small public-houses, or dram-shops.

The first Mayor was Mr. Hosking, a partner in the firm of Hughes and Hosking, the most extensive commercial house, at that period, in the colony. This gentleman was also one of those persons to whose lot, through his wife, a very large slice of the vast fortune of Sam Terry fell, after that millionaire's death. Mrs. Hosking was one of his step-daughters. The first Mayor, however, did not complete his full year of office; as an insolvent, he became incompetent, and his place was filled by a Mr. Wiltshire, a native born gentleman, generally respected.



The corporation have the power of levying various rates and taxes for municipal purposes, viz.: a borough rate, lighting rate, water rate—when supplied—and police rate. The markets, and market wharfs, are placed under their control, and the revenues arising therefrom go into their coffers. The fees and fines at the police office are also amongst their assets; but the town police are not under their jurisdiction, on account of the convict population, although they have partly to support them. The principal revenue, locally derived from Sydney, is also retained by the Government, viz.: the sums arising from licenses of public-houses, inns and hotels, which amounts to a very large sum: the mere day license being thirty pounds; an additional sum is required for permission to keep open after a certain hour at night.

Vehicles, carts, and porters, are entirely under the control of the corporation, which is entrusted with the conservancy of the town, except as regards the police. The Mayor is a magistrate *ex officio*, and takes precedence of all others within the borough, and many of the aldermen are appointed to the commission of the peace. The Mayor, for the time being, receives a handsome salary to maintain the dignity of his office.

Imitating the habits of the denizens of the cities of fatherland, the greater portion of the leading merchants and business men in Sydney reside without the town, in some of the many handsome abodes scattered around the shores of the numberless bays and coves of Port Jackson, or in the outskirts and suburbs of the town.

Woolloomooloo, a high sandy hill overlooking the waters of the estuary, at a short distance to the eastward of

the town, is covered with whole streets of beautiful villas and superb mansions, around which the orange, the vine, and large hedges of geraniums and myrtle, flourish and shed their fragrance. The houses are, almost without exception, separate, and stand in gardens or pleasure-grounds; they are painted white to reflect the rays of the sun, but this sameness is relieved by the universal green Venetian blinds and large shady verandahs.

The world may be travelled over, but in none of its towns or cities would there be found the same proportion of public-houses and dram shops as there is to be seen in Sydney. You cannot traverse the streets in any direction for fifty yards without meeting with one; at every corner of a thoroughfare you may be almost sure to find one, for they occupy the best situations for business in every part. The rents paid in some instances by their tenants are really almost beyond comprehension; three, four, or five hundred per annum, is not at all unusual, and yet the persons who carry on business, subject to these rents, mostly prosper and accumulate wealth.

From high to low, the merchant, mechanic, and labourer, all are alike a thirsty community; the bar-rooms of the hotels and inns are as much crowded as the taps of the dram-shops. Drink, drink, drink, seems to be the universal motto, and the quantity that is consumed is incredible; from early morning to dark night, it is the same—Bacchus being constantly sacrificed to.

The principal spirit consumed among the lower classes, is rum—hot, fiery, East India spirit—not the mild West

Indian ; and so accustomed do they become to the use of it, that on occasion of a regular "spree," it sometimes passes round in bucketsful, undiluted with water, except what the publican has qualified it with.

Drunkenness is, indeed, the great banè of New South Wales, with men and women alike. The writer, on first arriving in Sydney, took up his residence at an extensive boarding-house, called P— House, in a street of the same name. The second day, ladies and gentlemen, mostly new arrivals, assembled at the regular hour in the dining-room. Time passed, the table had been set out, but no dinner was forthcoming ; impatience began to exhibit itself, when a disturbance was heard in the hall below, which it turned out was caused by four constables, who had been called in by the proprietress of the house, and were conveying to the watch-house, the man servant, "Old John," and two women, in a helpless state of intoxication. The delay of dinner was explained : "Old John" had obtained access to some stray rum bottle, in the disposal of which, he was assisted by his two fellow servants. For that day we had to content ourselves with meagre fare, for the roasts were in the fire, and the boiled meat reduced to rags. The landlady, next morning, appeared against the delinquents at the police office ; "Old John" was ordered to receive fifty lashes, and the women were sent to the female factory at Paramatta, to undergo a certain period of solitary confinement, and be then returned to their mistress. They were all assigned convict servants, and had been with the mistress of P— House for some years, and during that period repeatedly punished ; yet they were

excellent servants, and honest, although convicts—except when they came into contact with the spirit bottle, which was as often as they possibly could obtain an opportunity.

Even free servants, who come as immigrants to the colony, soon imbibe the universal love for rum, and it is a frequent occurrence to discover the delicate lady's maid lying dead drunk on, or under her mistress's bed.

The "old hands," in the colonial term, or more properly speaking, men who have become free by servitude or pardon, are the hardest drinkers in New South Wales. They think nothing of travelling back some hundred miles into the interior, and there engaging with some master for a year or two, till they earn £40 or £50 in wages. Throwing their traps and blankets across their shoulder, they then seek Sydney, or some inland town, where, in ten days or so, the earnings of years are dissipated in drink and treating all those around them. Not unfrequently, while travelling down the country, they are intercepted at way-side public-houses by acquaintances, who induce them on the spot to "spree" away the earnings of long toil.

In the interior, public-houses and the grog-shops are not only the scenes of much vice, but are also provocatives of a great deal of crime. Where a public-house exists in a neighbourhood, or a person is to be found who retails spirits "on the sly," (that is, without a license), it acts as a great inducement to convicts and servants to rob and plunder, for the purpose of obtaining the means of purchasing rum. Cattle-stealing, or the formation of bands who commit depredations at night on surround-

ing stations, are consequent results, and not unfrequently, lead to the commission of murder.

Publicans also are too frequently to be found, who act as receivers of the stolen property, and even as directors of the plunderers in their depredations.

In 1840, a case was discovered in Sydney, where an extensive publican, who occupied premises in the chief outlet from the town, acted, not only as receiver, but also harboured the bush-rangers, and gave them information to assist in their operations. Some of the party were captured; one of them gave information, in the hope of being allowed to turn Queen's evidence; and the gang was broken up, and its leading spirit, the publican, transported to a penal settlement.

It is, in truth, impossible to conceive the length to which drunkenness proceeds, and the crimes it leads to, not only to obtain the means of gratification, but as a consequence on indulgence. The excesses it causes are not unfrequently extremely laughable; for instance, shepherds, stockmen, or rough bushmen, may be seen at times aping the habits of their superiors, and indulging in Champagne at 12s. 6d. per bottle, in order the more rapidly to get rid of their surplus cash; although, in reality, they would much rather prefer a glass of rum.

Sydney owes much to the earlier Governors, for the beautiful and extensive land reserves, that have been retained in the vicinity, for the recreation of the inhabitants.

The Domain is an extensive piece of land, many hundred acres, enclosed on three sides with beautiful bays. Nature has been left unchanged; roads and paths, with

done to give access and create comfort; thick evergreen shrubs and a rocky elevated promontory beautify the scene.

Close to the Domain, or rather within it, lie the Government gardens, circling round the head of a small bay. They are open to the public, and afford beautiful walks, and give much gratification to the sight, from the diversity and beauty of the plants and flowers here cultivated in the greatest perfection. Exotics of all kinds, and of the most brilliant colours, are to be seen side by side with the more homely productions of England. Fruit of many kinds is also cultivated here, but the consumption of it is forbidden to the public, being reserved for the Government authorities.

For a town of so recent a date as Sydney, it contains several convenient public edifices. As may be expected, from the nature of the original population, the principal of these are convict barracks or jails. The new jail at Woolloomooloo is a building of immense extent, entirely erected of stone, and surrounded by high walls, which enclose extensive yards, courts, and gardens. Sufficient accommodation exists here for three thousand prisoners, and the number of solitary cells is very considerable. The site is high, and being exposed to the influence of breezes from the estuary, it is certainly healthy.

The Court-House, which stands close to the Jail wall, and some half mile from the town boundaries, is a white stone building, of considerable extent, and some architectural beauty; it has not been very long completed.

Previously to 1844, both Jail and Court-House



tance apart. The Jail then stood in the narrowest part of George Street, which it nearly blocked up; and from which, as you passed along, you could see the bodies of criminals hanging from the gallows erected within the walls, not unfrequently in considerable numbers. The old Jail is now knocked down, and the street improved by the alteration.

Hyde Park Barracks, and the House of Correction, both forming convict establishments, are extensive and airy brick buildings; as is also the General Hospital, principally for convicts, which, on account of its situation and accommodation, will no doubt prove of great advantage to the inhabitants generally, when the gradual decrease of convicts shall have placed it more fully at the disposal of the free.

The public Market is such as is seldom to be found in large towns in England. Composed of four sheds of great length and considerable breadth, it offers accommodation to meet the wants of a population twice as extensive as that of Sydney.

The sheds are so built as to form, by the means of shutters at night, perfectly enclosed premises, within which no one is allowed to remain after a certain hour. Meat, poultry, fruit, vegetables, butter, cheese, native tobacco, and all other market-articles of produce, not excepting flowers, are assigned different stands. The show of fruit and flowers is very fine, the bloom and beauty of the latter being unsurpassed; but, almost without exception, they merely afford a limited gratification to the senses, as they are devoid of scent or perfume. Peaches are



cheap; melons—rock, musk, and water—are piled up by thousands; and grapes, pine-apples, and many tropical fruits, are abundant and good; oranges are not in such perfection, although plentiful; but English fruits, even apples and pears, are either not to be got, or extremely dear, being chiefly brought from Van Dieman's Land.

The Military Barracks are large and commodious; and the Government House, which stands without the town, on a point that juts into the bay, is a beautifully neat stone building, of some extent and much architectural beauty: its effect from its position is also considerable, standing within the bounds of the Government Domain. An Exchange has been aimed at by the Sydney merchants, and having obtained an excellent site from the Government, the first stone was laid in 1840; but it has progressed but slowly since, and as its extent is to be considerable, many years must elapse before it will be completed, unless the Government or Corporation should take the matter in hand.

The Sydney Police Office is at once central and commodious: it stands in George Street, and its court-yard, during the day, is always crowded, exhibiting the extent of business transacted within. It is, in fact, the centre of attraction, from one cause or another, for not a small portion of the population. Here, three paid Police Magistrates preside, assisted by many Justices of the Peace.

There is a Convict-Court, and a Free-Court. In the Convict-Court, sentences as far as two years' working in irons are passed, without the intervention of any other form than the will of two magistrates. Both Courts

have passed the previous night, or the greater part of it, in the watch-house. In the Free Court, fine or confinement in the stocks—which are in a street next the Police Office—is inflicted. The convict who offends against temperance, is subjected to the lash, imprisonment, (solitary), or returned to Government to be worked in the road gangs, if he is in private assignment. The number of drunken cases, in both Courts, frequently amount in one morning to fifty or sixty; which, when compared with the extent of population, will convey some idea of the prevailing sin of New South Wales.

To give an idea of the scenes that too often take place in the Convict-Court, is almost impossible. A female is placed in the dock facing the Bench. She is an assigned servant to a family in Sydney; the clerk asks her name, then what ship, what year, meaning by what vessel she arrived in the colony, and in what year,—as from these, coupled with her name, the offence for which she was transported, term of sentence, and number of punishments since arrival, are ascertained from a register compiled at the head Convict Office, and of which a copy is furnished to each Police Office. The writer was once present when the above questions were asked of a woman, who gave the name of Sarah Jenkins; she had arrived in the colony in 1832, and had been transported for life, when but sixteen years of age, for aiding in the murder of her uncle. Sarah's mistress, the wife of an extensive shopkeeper, appeared against her. It appeared that Sarah was particularly addicted to rum, and all other strong spirits; and had been punished many times, but yet forgiven more frequently, as she was a good cook, and her

mistress had no desire to lose her services. The previous day, the mistress and her family went some short distance into the country to dine, giving permission to two other servants to spend their evening out. On returning some time before midnight, the two servants who had availed themselves of this permission were found by their master and mistress promenading up and down the road before the house, into which they could not obtain admission. In vain the master knocked and called; so, obtaining the assistance of the police, he forced the back-door, and proceeded to search for Sarah, at first imagining that she had in all probability taken permission to absent herself without leave. But in the very bed-room of her master and mistress, she was found lying on a sofa, with a soldier stretched on the floor near her. On the floor was also discovered an empty bottle, which had contained brandy, and to obtain which a sideboard had been forced; but, more extraordinary than all, there lay empty, no less than seventeen bottles which had contained eau de Cologne. It appeared that when the brandy failed, Sarah had proceeded to her mistress's room, and actually broken open some cases of eau de Cologne, in order to gratify herself and companion with a full allowance of spirit, the exact kind of which she did not seem to care about.

The case being stated by the mistress, and it appearing that no less than three offences had been committed, viz.: admitting a strange man into her master's house, stealing and drunkenness—notwithstanding a soothing word from the mistress—the delinquent was sentenced to be returned to the factory, and be imprisoned in solitary confinement for one month; which sentence entailed, as a consequence,

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the shaving of her head, which by females in the colony, is regarded as a sign of deep degradation, it being only practised on the worst female offenders amongst the convicts.

The general punishment inflicted on male convicts for drunkenness is the lash ; and the number of lashes that, from time to time, is received by some, is extraordinary. Too frequently, indeed, the Sydney police office has been the scene of the most unlimited exercise of the lash on unfortunate convicts, by the order of magistrates, who apparently considered their fellow men, because felons, removed beyond the pale of all law and humanity. There are, in fact, not a few convicts who have received many thousand lashes in the aggregate ; the writer had one assigned to him who had, previously to coming into his service, received 2,275 lashes, and had become so hardened by it, that he would much sooner receive 100, than even the shortest term of imprisonment.

The enormity and diversity of crime of every description, from petty larceny up to murder, daily investigated at the police office, is perhaps unequalled ; and what will appear strange, free persons are often committed for trial for offences, for which convicts are either subjected to the lash or sent to the iron gangs ; summary punishment being considered best, on account of the saving of expense and trouble, where convicts are concerned, except in case of offences of great enormity.

Justice is sometimes strangely perverted, and it is notorious to any one who knows Sydney, that a few years ago, there was on the Sydney bench a stipendiary magistrate, who applied his position to strange ends, such indeed as would appear incredible in England.

This gentleman, who was pretty well advanced in life, had the chief control of the Sydney police, in addition to his other office. Particularly attached to the fair sex, when any very good looking female was brought before him, it mattered not what she was accused of, but she was remanded for *further examination*. The police were aware of the cause—the official was too much occupied during the day; so in the evening, the fair one was brought by a policeman to the dwelling-house of the magistrate, who after a lengthened private interview with the accused, sent her back under the same escort; and next morning, in his magisterial capacity, disposed of the charge by dismissing the case, if possible, or if not, by treating the offender with great leniency. During the period of this gentleman's continuance in office, the well-looking amongst the female convicts had a most lenient judge and protector, of which they were so well aware, that they always expressed a wish to be brought before him, and even gave vent to their feelings to this effect, if they chanced to appear before any other justice.

So bold had the continued submission of female convicts to this magistrate's wishes rendered him, that at length he "remanded" the wife of a respectable shop-keeper, who had been brought up for some not very serious offence before his worship's tribunal. Bail was declined, the dame was well-looking, and in due course she found her way under a police escort to the "private examination" at the justice's house.

The interview between the magistrate and the accused was commenced by a salute on the part of the official, and further liberties were then attempted; these were resisted by the female, but more active measures were resorted



to by the other party, and only counteracted by the screams of the unwilling fair, which alarmed the house. To secure silence, the immediate liberation of the accused took place, on her promise to appear next day, which she kept, and was discharged regularly; but the facts crept out, the public ear was open, other similar cases followed, and at length the scandal became so notorious that inquiry followed, and his "worship" was dismissed from his office.

In other ways, also, there are yet related some most extraordinary tales in Sydney connected with this gentleman. It can hardly be wondered at that the police would, as a body, recognize and aid in the commission of the strange freaks of this gentleman. As a body, the Sydney police were, previously to 1840, and are even now, principally composed of either ticket-of-leave men, or convicts whose sentences had expired. "Set a thief to catch a thief," is an old adage, and it has been adopted in the composition of the Sydney police who are, from this, well calculated to ferret out any criminal or offender, if they wish; but this they seldom seem to think it necessary to do, unless something in the shape of reward is attached to the capture. According to a Government regulation, there is a reward attached to the capture of every convict, male or female, who has absconded. Being out after certain hours without a pass, or at a certain distance from their master's abode, brings a convict within this regulation; so it affords a wide scope for the practices of the police in search of rewards. Fines also are much looked after by them, from the rewards that fall to their share, whether arising from drunkenness or the detection of sly grog shops.

## CHAPTER III.

TOWNS OF NEW SOUTH WALES — MODE OF GOVERNMENT — LAND  
SYSTEM — SQUATTING.

BESIDES Sydney, there are many other towns disposed along the coast and in the vast interior of New South Wales ; the following is a list of the principal, exclusive of those in the Port Phillip district, viz. : Paramatta, Maitland East and West, Windsor, Newcastle, Macquarie, Wollongong, Bathurst, Liverpool, Goulburn, Richmond, Kelso, Campbelltown, Singleton, Raymond Terrace, Berrima, Muswell Brook, Pitt Town, Gosford, Yass, Appin, Paterson, Bungonia, Queanbeyan, Scone, Hartley, and a new township at Moreton Bay. These are all government townships, established and laid out by the executive ; but there are several private ones, Stonequarry, Camden, Brouli, and Boyd Town at Twofold Bay, besides others of lesser note.

A few of these, particularly Paramatta, Maitland, Newcastle, Windsor, Macquarie and Wollongong, possess all of them considerably more than one thousand inhabitants each. Paramatta has about seven thousand, but then it is the seat of large convict establishments, particularly the female factory. Many of the smaller townships are but



skeletons of future settlements, and do not number one hundred inhabitants ; but they are the means of much accommodation and benefit to the surrounding settlers. A writer in the Sydney Herald, in speaking of the increase of towns and their population in the interior of Australia, makes the following sensible and correct remarks : “ The population resident in towns has increased in the proportion of 168 per cent to what it was in 1833 ; a fact which instructively illustrates that peculiar principle in the political economy of Australia, so imperfectly understood in the mother country, that *dispersion is the natural means to healthful concentration*. As population spreads into the remote interior—the true mine of our colonial wealth—new townships spring up spontaneously ; these again, as their inhabitants, especially as they increase by birth, will contribute to a still wider penetration into ‘ the regions beyond,’ and thus, by an easy but vigorous system of action and re-action, diffusion and centralization will be reciprocally and simultaneously promoted, and, by their combined operations, will transform this splendid wilderness into a series of domestic circles, and of large and flourishing communities. This seems to be the order in which it is designed by Providence that civilized man, in this new world of spontaneous pasturage, shall ‘ be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it.’ ”

Such is the opinion of the Sydney Herald, the chief organ of the New South Wales’ colonies, on the theory of centralization, when applied to colonization.

It has indeed been strongly exemplified in Australia, that centralization does not promote healthy and successful

settlement. The townships founded by the Government, have never succeeded in inducing population thither, unless the surrounding country was already settled, and required the combined industry of trades and mechanism to supply their wants. Collective communities will always spontaneously form, if the population that require such are dispersed through the surrounding country. Towns should follow, and not precede general settlement in new countries, for they are only required to *supply*, and not *create*, the wants centralization administers to.

Paramatta, the chief town next to Sydney in point of population, stands on a river, or rather a creek, connected with the main estuary of Port Jackson. It is distant from Sydney, by land, some sixteen miles. The Governor has a country-house here, and communication is kept up with Sydney by telegraph. Many large public establishments and convict depôts exist here; and it is the station of a large chain gang, who exhibit a strange appearance as they march along dressed in clothes, one half of which, on the upper and lower portion of the body, is composed of grey cloth, the other of canary or yellow. Paramatta is not a place of any trade.

Maitland, which is situated on Hunters' River, some thirty miles up the stream, and about two degrees to the northward of Sydney, is a place of great trade. It is not accessible to large vessels; but steamers and smaller craft can approach it. It is the emporium for the entire trade of the numerous tributary streams that feed the Hunter, of which some are navigable, particularly the Williams.

The banks of these rivers and streams are the best settled, cultivated, and most productive districts in New South Wales. Here the orange, the lemon, grapes, peaches, tobacco, and even specimens of cotton and coffee arrive at great perfection. Wine also is here made to some small extent, particularly on the estates of Sir John Jamieson and Mr. King, and numerous others have, in consequence of successful experiments, commenced to cultivate the vine to a great extent. Peaches are in such abundance, that thousands of pigs are here fed upon them, there being no demand for the vast supply, and it not being worth while to convey them to Sydney, for the small price that could there be obtained for them. It certainly has a strange appearance, to see in the morning a number of men proceeding through an orchard, containing acres on acres, and collecting the peaches in barrow loads, to bring to the pigs.

Tobacco cultivation is carried on with much success on the Hunter and Williams' Rivers, and the colonies are supplied from thence with large quantities of home-grown tobacco, the average price of which, wholesale, is about nine pence per pound, manufactured, in kegs. All that the Hunters' River settlers require, to make their produce equal to the best kind of American tobacco, is a better knowledge of the system of growing and manufacturing the plant. The writer has seen on the Williams samples of leaf tobacco, which had been well cultivated, fully equal to any he ever saw in Virginia or Carolina.

In no other portion of Australia, as yet settled, are there the same facilities of water communication, as are to be

found in this beautiful district, which is of such easy access to Sydney, that steamers run thither daily.

Along the banks of the Hunter and its numerous tributaries, there is room for tens of thousands of immigrants, who would soon develop the bounteous resources a beneficent Providence has bestowed on that district. But to effect the settlement here of a class of small farmers or yeomen, it is indispensable that the proprietors should unite to promote it, and dispose of their lands at a reasonable rate. There are some settlers, who here own the soil along the banks of rivers for twenty or thirty miles on a stretch ; and of the entire vast extent, perhaps not one hundred acres are cultivated, but remain in a state of nature—rich alluvial soils ready for the plough, and, in most places, without the expense or labour of clearing. These proprietors have almost, without exception, acquired these lands by free grant, without the payment of a shilling more than a mere nominal quit rent. Such grants were bestowed previous to the introduction of land sales into New South Wales, which latter system was established during Lord Ripon's administration at the Colonial Office in 1832.

• If these rich and fertile soils were divided into lots of forty and fifty acres, and disposed of on easy terms and long credit, to able-bodied pauper labourers, imported from Great Britain and Ireland, what wealth and happiness would thereby be created ! what a market would, by degrees, be opened for British manufactures ; and how much would it not also advance the interest of the present proprietors !

But to produce this, proprietors of land in New South Wales must first undergo a considerable change in their jealous and grasping ideas. Their object is to hold as much land as possible, which, in reality, is of no value to them, being unable themselves to cultivate a hundredth part of it, for want of labour ; besides which, for lack of mouths to consume, there is at present no inducement for them to raise produce. The Home Government must also become more liberal, and not exact from Australian settlers that money, which they require to employ labour when it does reach their shores. Grain of all kinds, particularly Indian corn, attains much perfection in the neighbourhood of those rivers ; and so great is its produce, that in favourable seasons it has been sold as low as from one shilling to one shilling and sixpence per bushel.

Newcastle, called after the well-known town of the same name in the north of England, is situated near the mouth of the Hunter. Considerable coal mines, which supply Sydney, have been for years worked here, chiefly by convicts, on account of the Australian Agricultural Company.

Proceeding northward along the coast, the Australian Agricultural Company's settlements at Port Stephens are met with, as also Port Macquarie and Moreton Bay, both of which were originally founded as penal settlements, for such convicts only as had first been deported to New South Wales, and had there been a second time convicted of other offences ; subsequently, Macquarie was made a station for sick convicts.

As settlements extended to the northward, and free

persons occupied the back country, at the rear of Port Macquarie and Moreton Bay, as sheep and cattle stations, the exclusive penal character of these places gradually passed away, and free inhabitants occupied those rising towns as traders or mechanics.

In the beginning of 1847, such indeed had become the extent of the free population in and around these two settlements—the latter of which, Moreton Bay, had only of late years retained any portion of its extreme penal character—that Government resolved to found a new penal colony still further to the northward, and nearer the Gulf of Carpentaria, which so deeply indents the northern shores of Australia.

Many discoveries having, in the year 1846, been made in that direction, by Dr. Leichardt and Sir Thomas Mitchell, the Surveyor General of New South Wales, Colonel Barney, for many years the Deputy Surveyor General, was despatched in February of the present year, in the “Lord Auckland,” with all the necessary officers and appliances, to found a new settlement, called the Northern Australian Colony. Of this Colonel Barney was to be Lieutenant Governor, under the superior jurisdiction of Governor Fitzroy, at Sydney.\*

Wollongong, a town containing upwards of 1000 inhabitants, lies about sixty miles to the southward of Sydney, in a district called the Five Islands. This tract of land, which is divided by steep precipitous mountains from the interior, is a narrow strip along the sea-shore,

\* The establishment of a northern Colony has lately been abandoned by order of the Secretary for the Colonies.

of great fertility. It was originally granted in allotments to privates, non-commissioned officers, and others connected with the New South Wales' corps, a local body raised in England, and which consisted of old veteran soldiers. Much of the land in this vicinity was at one period covered with some of the finest cedar wood that existed in Australia; but such was the demand for this timber some years ago, and the facilities that existed for shipping it, from being so near the coast, that at present there is not a cedar tree of any size to be found in the district of the Five Islands. The farmers of this neighbourhood are small ones, of the yeoman class, and this is, perhaps, the only locality in New South Wales where this useful body of men are to be found in any numbers. From their vicinity to Sydney by sea, an easy market is there obtained for their produce, and a steamer and many small craft are constantly engaged in the carrying trade.

For scenery and beauty, the vicinity of Wollongong is unsurpassed in New South Wales, and the country is better watered than any other as yet discovered in Australia by numerous small rivulets, which take their rise in the range of steep mountains, that cut it off, in a manner, by land, from the interior. Its vicinity to Sydney has made it the abode of many extensive settlers, who here have homesteads of limited extent, but possess vast herds and flocks dispersed over the interior of Australia. The great disadvantage of Wollongong, is, that it has no good harbour. This may be said of the entire coast for some four hundred miles, from Port



Jackson or Botany Bay, southwards as far as Wilson's Promontory, which forms the south-eastern extremity of the Australian continent.

Along this vast extent of sea-coast, Twofold Bay, Jervis Bay, and Brouli are the only points, where it may be said goods can be shipped and landed with safety. But here even, the anchorage is exposed to certain winds and an easterly swell, which at times force vessels to put to sea at a moment's notice.

The country in the vicinity of Twofold Bay was originally occupied by a Dr. Imlay, for cattle runs; but an enterprising London merchant, Mr. Boyd, purchased some sections of land on the shores of the Bay, where he has founded a township, which is prospering, and which answers not only as an outlet for shipping the wool, cattle, and produce of the country in the vicinity, but is also well adapted as an intervening station for steam navigation, between Sydney and the southern ports of Van Dieman's Land and Port Phillip. The town of Twofold Bay is called, after its founder, Boyd Town, and not only serves as a shipping place for the produce of its own neighbourhood, but answers the same purpose for a considerable portion of the great sheep districts of Macneeroo Plains. Jervis Bay also is situated on this long line of coast, and is the occasional resort of vessels, but its anchorage is even more exposed than that of Twofold Bay.

The inland towns are none of them possessed of an extensive population. Windsor is much the most considerable; it lies between thirty and forty miles from Sydney, and is situated on the Hawksberry, which admits

of the navigation of small craft from the sea ; it contains nearly 1700 inhabitants, and is one of the oldest settled towns in the colony.

The internal towns, as well as the seabord ones, are generally the seat of the jurisdiction of a stipendiary magistrate ; and at some of them periodical Assizes are held by the Judges of the Supreme Court, who go circuit. Of this description are, Bathurst, Goulburn, Berrima, Yass ; but all in general possess—although not assize towns—a gaol and small court-house, where the magistrates assemble. There is one adjunct peculiar to all townships of New South Wales, viz : a scourger—generally a convict undergoing his sentence. The duty of this person is to carry into effect the sentences of flogging passed by the stipendiary Magistrate, or the Justices of the Peace, who, from time to time, preside on the Bench.

All the townships of New South Wales are within that portion of Australia originally defined under the foregoing name, although many thousands of individuals are scattered beyond this imaginary line of demarcation ; and many townships or places of centralization, rendered necessary by the wants of a population, would be settled, if any right of tenure to the necessary land could be obtained. But this is rendered impossible by Government neither surveying nor disposing of any land beyond the boundary line.

Inland towns, besides being of use as the seats of civil Government, are also of much value as stations, where pastors of religion can assemble flocks to teach them

that morality and religion which is so little understood or practised in the interior of Australia. Education also finds a focus in an inland town, whence, with zeal, it may be extended amongst the younger branches of the families of the neighbouring population. From these towns settlers also can obtain, on occasion, those stores and necessaries which they may require, without being obliged to journey for them to the distant sea-coast; and mechanics and tradesmen find in these townships a centre, from around which employment can be procured, from those who may at times require their services.

Of all the Australian settlements, New South Wales is the only one that possesses, at present, the semblance of a representative legislature. From the first settlement of New South Wales down to the year 1823, the will of the British Crown, as administered through a local Governor, was the only kind of government recognized. At that period, an Act of Parliament was passed, enabling the Governor for the time being to appoint a council of seven persons, who would have power to make laws for the government of the colony.

Up to the year 1825, Van Dieman's Land had been united under the same government as New South Wales; but at that period it was erected into an independent colony, with a separate Governor, and council.

In the year 1828, an Act of Parliament was passed, setting aside the first Act of 1823, and establishing a new form of government. By the Act of 1828, the Crown was authorized by its local representative, the Governor, to appoint a Legislative Council, to consist

of not more than fifteen individuals, nor less than ten, to frame laws for the government of the colony. Of this body, the Governor for the time being was constituted President, and from him alone could the Acts submitted for discussion emanate. Besides this legislative body, the Crown also appointed an Executive Council, to aid the Governor with their advice in the performance of his duties. This upper council consisted of the superior civil and military functionaries of the colony. The members of the Legislative Council were principally selected from the superior administrative officers of the Crown, and the remainder, from the upper classes of the private colonists.

In 1842, such had become the importance of New South Wales, the extent of its population and its trade, that the Home Government introduced into Parliament, and passed, an Act, bestowing on the colony a partly representative constitution. In compliance with this Act, the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, including the district of Australia Felix, consists of thirty-six Members, twelve nominated by the Crown, and twenty-four elected by the people, inhabitants of the districts within the boundaries. The Governor is no longer the President of the Council, he merely opens the session, and closes it with a set speech, after the model of the speech from the Throne on the opening and closing of a Session of Parliament. The Assembly is presided over by a Speaker, elected by the majority of the body. The introduction of proposed Bills belongs now of right to any member of the Assembly, except as regards the disposal of

finances. Money Bills can only be introduced in the Assembly by the official organ of the Government, who is a nominee of the Crown, and generally the Colonial Secretary. Although the legislature has a voice in the disposal of the general revenue of the colony, yet there is a sum which is preserved intact, and beyond control of the body, by Act of Parliament. This sum consists of £81,600 annually, £51,600 of which is to pay the salaries of the Governor, chief executive officers, judges, law officers, &c., so that the Government of the colony can be carried on, and its executive officers paid beyond the control of the legislature; the remaining £30,000 per annum, is reserved as a certain provision for "public worship," and is also beyond the jurisdiction of the Assembly.

Under the present constitution, the colony is divided into districts, called electoral divisions, which return so many members to the Assembly. Australia Felix forms one of these, and returns five members, and its capital, one; Sydney returns two Members, and the country districts the remainder.

The qualification of an elector is derivable from two sources, leasehold and freehold, or rather occupation and property; two persons being able to qualify out of the same property, one from occupation, the other from proprietorship. The amount of qualification is: freehold, aggregate value, £200; occupation, £20 per annum. No qualification is derivable from land, or houses erected on land, that has not already been granted or sold by the Crown. This provision totally excludes from representa-

tion, the most useful, wealthy and enterprizing class of men in the colony, the squatters, who are proprietors of four fifths of the cattle, sheep and horses, in the country.

The qualification of a member of the Legislative Assembly is fixed at a freehold of the clear annual value of £100, or of the gross value of £2,000.

It is compulsory on the Governor to call the Assembly together, at least once a year, and he possesses the power of proposing to them by message any Bill he may think fit to introduce. The Governor also acts as a controlling power on the Legislature: he may amend, or refuse his assent to, Bills, and thereby prevent them from becoming law. The Crown also may, after the sanction of the Governor, put its "veto" upon any Act that does not meet its approbation. All laws passed in the colony, although approved of by the Governor, are but provisionally in force, until the pleasure of the Crown is known. This limit to the power of the Governor and local authorities, though clearly defined, has, however, occasionally been exceeded. A most remarkable and sanguinary instance of this occurred during the administration of Governor Sir George Gipps in New South Wales. The occurrence took place in the year 1839.

The Aborigines had in the neighbourhood of New England plains, and many other parts near the frontiers, become extremely troublesome about that period, committing many depredations, and murders on the white settlers and their servants. In consequence of these outrages, and from there being no efficient police force to protect them, the servants of the squatters took the law into their



own hands, and a number of them seized the greater part of a tribe, from thirty to forty, at a place called Myall Creek, the station of a Mr. Dangar, and led them out deliberately to execution, shooting them, and afterwards burning the bodies.

The fact got bruited abroad, ultimately reaching the ears of the authorities at Hunter's River, and seven suspected parties—all of whom were then or had been convicts—were accordingly arrested and forwarded for trial to Sydney. The case came on there before the judges of the Supreme Court; but, from the facts chiefly resting on the evidence of some Aborigines, who were incapacitated by law from giving evidence, the accused were acquitted by the jury. This, however, did not satisfy Sir George and the executive. The men were retained in custody; the Aboriginal witnesses were committed to the care of competent instructors; and the Legislative Assembly, then consisting of Crown nominees, passed an Act, proposed by the Governor himself, authorizing courts to receive, and rendering legal, under certain circumstances, the evidence of Aboriginal natives. Then, after a lapse of a few months, the accused were once more placed on their trial, for in reality the same offence, but with the counts of the indictment varied and altered to meet the case; and the plea of previous trial and acquittal having been overruled by the presiding judge, the seven unfortunate men were found guilty, and sentenced to death. No resident of the colony imagined for a moment that the sentence would be carried into effect; more particularly as the Act of Council, provisionally in force, legalizing the evidence of Aborigines,



under certain circumstances, had not as yet received the sanction of the Crown. But Sir George Gipps was moved by the representations of philanthropic individuals at home, who had heard of, and bewailed, the sufferings of the Australian Aborigines. And the law was carried into effect, by virtue of his sign manual, on the seven unhappy wretches ; notwithstanding the petitions and remonstrances of the settlers, the protest of the first jury who tried them, and the recommendation to mercy of the second, who had found them guilty. A few months rolled on, the seven victims of the law were in their cold narrow graves, when a despatch arrived from the Colonial Office at home, refusing the sanction of the Crown to the act for legalizing the evidence of Aboriginal natives. The mischief was done, the men could not be recalled to life, and the onus of the sacrifice of seven men yet lies at the door of him, who was thus so anxious to stretch the law to reach the lives of these men, and take the responsibility on himself. Their crime may have called for and deserved exemplary punishment, for its cruel and wholesale nature ; yet no Governor should have the power to call into existence, to answer a temporary purpose, laws affecting the lives of his fellow beings, and have the right to carry them into effect, even before the approbation of the Crown could be conferred on them, and sacrifice the lives of individuals, who were in reality, *legally* innocent.

The circumstance, above related, produced at the time considerable discussion and bad feeling in the Australian colonies, and tended to render still more unpopular and

disagreeable to the colonists, the Governor, who was already no great favourite with them.

Previously to the granting of a partly representative constitution to New South Wales, the local legislature had conferred municipal rights and privileges on some of the chief towns in the colony. But the act of constitution itself created rural municipalities, under the style and title of District Councils, the members of which were to be elected by the inhabitants of the district, possessing the qualification necessary to constitute a vote for the members of the Legislative Assembly. The members of the district councils were to possess the same qualification as those for the Assembly.

These local bodies have the right of levying assessments on the inhabitants of their district, for the construction of roads, bridges and public buildings—which they have a right to proceed to erect, by power of their own bye-laws—and also for half the expense of the local police, the residue being defrayed from the general revenue of the colony. The Governor, for the time being, possesses the controlling power of allowing or disallowing any of the acts of the District Councils. But so unsuited have they been found to the wants of a new and partially settled country, like New South Wales, that although brought into existence under a compulsory law, yet, they have remained up to the present period in a state of abeyance; local taxation and the incubus of an executive, or rather series of executives, being found incompatible with the position of the country.

Justice is administered in New South Wales by a Supreme Court, consisting of one principal judge styled

the Chief Justice, and three Puisne Judges. One of the latter is always resident in the district of Australia Felix. The Chief Justice and the two other Puisne Judges are chiefly resident in Sydney; but at stated periods they proceed through the colony, holding Courts of Assize at the various inland towns of note, where the civil and criminal business of the surrounding district is despatched.

Previous to the year 1842, *the entire administration of justice in the colony of New South Wales, exclusive of Australia Felix, was altogether carried on at Sydney by the Judges; but the expense, trouble, and difficulty, of bringing hundreds of witnesses from all parts of the colony, became so great and vexatious an evil, that the circuit system was established.*

The Judges of the Supreme Court preside in Chancery business in the colony, as well as in Nisi Prius, Queen's Bench, and Common Pleas. They are completely under the jurisdiction of the Crown, or rather the Colonial Secretary for the time being, being dismissible at his will without any Court of Inquiry. The Governor even possesses power of dismissing or suspending a judge, if he thinks fit; and this authority Sir George Gipps enforced in 1843, by dismissing Mr. John Walpole Willis, one of the Puisne Judges of New South Wales, but at that period acting as resident judge in the district of Australia Felix, which circumstance at the time excited much interest in the colony.

The laws of the colony are founded on those of the parent State; such acts of Parliament as were considered fit, from time to time, being extended by the Legislative Council to the colony. Besides these

laws, many others have been created by the Council, in order to meet the peculiar position and requirement of a penal colony, such as New South Wales was for very many years. Not a few of these penal enactments, which considerably curtail the liberty of the subject, are yet in existence on the Statute Book of the colony, but it is to be hoped that before long they will all be repealed.

That "Act of Council," or colonial law, most objectionable, is the "Bushranging Act." It gives power to any constable, policeman, or executor of the law, to take into custody the body of any person whom they may meet with, unless the party can produce some official document, or convincing proof that he is a free man. To a stranger to New South Wales, and one at a distance, but a vague idea can be conveyed of the annoyance and abuse that this law subjects all persons in the colony to. It places vast power in the hands of the police, who are in general either ticket-of-leave men, or emancipated convicts; and these men are but too frequently happy at the opportunity it gives them to molest free persons, or vent their revenge for some real or imaginary insult or injury, that may have been inflicted on themselves, or their "pals." From the operation of the Bushranging Act—originally passed to aid the arrest of convicts illegally at large—the very class of persons, on whose account it was brought into existence, are those best protected.

Every ticket-of-leave man, expiring, or emancipated convict, on obtaining his partial or total freedom, receives from the convict department an official document bearing testimony to the fact. On demand, the production of

this frees them from further molestation on the part of the police ; but the free immigrant has nothing of the kind to produce, if required by any prying constable to " show his freedom ;" the consequence is generally, that unless the functionary of the law thinks fit to be satisfied with the exhibition of letters, or similar matters, the unfortunate free man, whose only fault seems his not having been " lagged," is dragged to the nearest police station, and forwarded from lock-up to lock-up, till he reaches Sydney for " identification," occupying not unfrequently weeks on the road. This long period is spent among felons and the scum of the colony, in rough unwholesome lock-ups, or temporary jails, on the coarsest fare. On reaching Sydney, the victim is first brought to the police office, and from thence sent to Hyde Park barracks, the chief convict depôt. There an examination has to be undergone of the marks and peculiarities of the body, and a comparison with a register of the convict population, when at length not being recognized as a convict, he is discharged, and allowed to return from whence he came, as soon as he thinks fit. No redress, no recompense, is afforded for long imprisonment and deep injury, although but too frequently caused by wilful malevolence. It may be imagined that it would be easy to procure such a document as would ensure the holder from molestation. But such is not the fact ; there is no one authority recognized as capable of granting such. A protection might be obtained with difficulty from the Colonial Secretary ; but this is entirely out of the reach of the lower class of immigrants. It may be thought also that none but the labouring portion of the free population

are likely to meet with interruption in their journeys ; certainly they are the chief sufferers, but all classes are liable, and are but too frequently made aware that they are in a land where no man is really free.

Some of the principal persons in New South Wales have been subjected to the operation of the "Bushranging Act." Ex-Chief-Justice Sir James Forbes was once stopped by an officious policeman, who met him no very great distance from his own abode, and not being able to produce such proof of his freedom as the constable required, he was actually handcuffed, and marched down to Sydney, a distance of near forty miles, for "identification." Magistrates also have been thus arrested, and in some instances forwarded to the very police station where they themselves presided, on the way to Sydney. It would be supposed, now that the convict population forms such a small portion of the inhabitants of New South Wales, that such a restriction on the liberty of the subject would be abolished, but no such thing : it still continues in full force.

The author was some years since, in the early days of Port Phillip, proceeding thither from Sydney. He had crossed the Murray, and was rather better than half way on his journey, when he was overtaken by a corporal and three privates of the mounted police. The corporal immediately required the production of the accustomed "freedom." The answer was that the author had no such thing, but that the corporal was at liberty to inspect some letters and papers, which would soon satisfy him. This was declined ; how was the corporal to know that the papers were really the property of their then possessor,

as there were many escaped convicts making their way overland to South Australia, of whom, it was possible, the writer might be one. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary that he should proceed, in custody of the corporal, back to Yass, the nearest town in New South Wales, and thence be forwarded to Sydney for identification.

From the place where this rencontre occurred, Yass was distant upwards of two hundred and fifty miles; whilst Melbourne, the destination of the writer, was little more than one hundred and fifty. On the day of the occurrence, the Ovens River had been crossed, and thither were the steps of the party retraced; and by dark, the small bush hut, that afforded temporary accommodation to the traveller on its banks, was reached. Here the night was to be spent; in vain representations were made to the corporal, and every description of document but the "legal one" produced to prove the freedom of the writer; he would not even inspect them, much less acknowledge that he had seen his prisoner twice on previous journeys, between Sydney and Port Phillip, and must, therefore, be in his own mind satisfied of his respectability and freedom.

In disgust, the author threw himself on the sheet of bark and a few blankets, that had been spread for his bed, mentally anathematizing the laws that gave power and opportunity for so much wrong. As he lay, the conviction that the corporal had some especial reason for his conduct towards him became impressed on his mind; he therefore determined to feign sleep, and watch narrowly the conversation of the police party, who were seated in conviviality round a bottle of rum, for the sale of which, at



that period, the house was not licensed, but which the police knew well how to procure, as it was sold on the "sly." Time passed on, the prisoner feigned to be in a sound sleep, whilst the police, as they imbibed, became more communicative; at length, considering from his breathing that he was incapable of hearing them, they laughed outright at the *trick* they had played him, for the purpose of affording the corporal an opportunity of leaving his post, and proceeding to Yass for no other object than to visit his sweetheart, an inn-keeper's daughter, who dwelt there. It appeared the corporal had applied to his superior for leave of absence, but this having been refused, he determined to obtain his object at the author's expense.

So indignant did the discovery make the prisoner, that he sprung from his recumbent position, and at once stated what he had heard; but after the first start, he was only laughed at, the conversation denied, and the host called to witness that none such took place—which he was obliged to affirm, being in the power of the police as a "sly grog seller;" the prisoner was then assured, if he made any more disturbance, that a pair of handcuffs would be resorted to as a quietus. Discretion was the better part of valour, so the author betook himself to sleep, after revolving in his mind the possibility of escape from such an unpleasant position.

Morning came; with it all were astir, and having despatched a bush breakfast, mutton, damper, and tea, the horses were brought forth, and every preparation made to cross the Ovens River, which ran close beneath the hut.

At the time, the river was swollen with rains, and the

passage was no easy matter. It was effected by means of a small punt, made fast to, and traversing on, a cable, which was attached to a tree on either bank. One by one each rider entered the punt—navigated by the host of the last night's abode—and leading his horse, swam him across with the punt, supporting his head by a collar above the water.

All had crossed but the corporal, one private, and the prisoner; the corporal had led his horse into the river and entered the punt with its manager, when the thought occurred to the author, that he might escape from *durance vile*. His horse was now the only one that had not crossed, and but one constable or policeman remained with him as a guard. The decision come to, it was soon carried into effect. Producing a colonial pound note, the writer urged his guard to run up to the hut and procure a couple of bottles of rum, to cheer the party on their way. The hut being but fifty yards distant up a slope, no thought of escape entered the head of the policeman, as the saddle, arms, and travelling bags of his prisoner were on the other side; and nought remained but the horse with a bridle on; so he at once cheerfully complied with the request. His own arms and horse had been conveyed over with the corporal, who was by this time in the middle of the stream, gradually progressing towards the other side, as the punt was pulled over by the rope. A case-knife was produced; unnoticed the rope—which secured the communication—was severed, and punt, corporal, horse, host and all, swept away down with the stream. There was no time to wait to see what would become of them; at one bound, the powerful and swift mare the author rode, was mounted, and whilst

the guard was yet in the hut, he dashed up the hill and swept into the forest. A couple of shots from the far side of the river were fired, but ineffectually, on account of the distance, and the author disappeared from the sight and power of his late captors.

Well aware that there was no horse at the hut, and that it would take some hours, if not days, before a communication could be effected with the far side of the stream, no anxiety of immediate or effectual pursuit was entertained, as the speed and bottom of the author's horse would soon render such ineffectual. The only question was, how to obtain a saddle before any other police were fallen in with; for there was a station at the Broken River, which must be passed, as it was the place where the punt was kept for crossing the stream. This difficulty was settled by the author's knowledge of the country, and he was enabled to obtain a loan of a saddle on the deposit of its value, and on explaining the circumstances, at a cattle station, a short distance off the track.

Passing the Broken River police station, a note was there written and left for the disappointed corporal, directing him to forward the writer's saddle and traps to Melbourne by the first opportunity; otherwise, an immediate and urgent representation of the circumstances would be made to Major Ryan in Sydney, who was, at the period, in command of the mounted police of the colony. Three days after, the writer arrived in Melbourne, and before the lapse of ten more, he was in possession of his saddle, arms, and traps, which the corporal duly forwarded, with an humble expression of regret at having

been so mistaken in the character of his late prisoner, of whose respectability he had become satisfied. There the matter dropped; as the writer considered a severe ducking, with a narrow escape of drowning, and the loss of some of his accoutrements, a sufficient punishment for the corporal, without representing his conduct to his superiors.

Such is one instance, among many that could be related by any one who knows New South Wales, of the abuse of the power entrusted to the police by the "Bush-ranging Act;" and when men of station are subjected to such treatment, what at times must be the position of the labouring, friendless, immigrant? For it will scarcely be believed, that one arrest-journey to Sydney, and subsequent discharge, does not obtain for the victim any protection against the immediate recurrence of the same injury and suffering.

If, after he is discharged from custody, he makes application at the police office, to obtain a protection against future arrest, the answer received is, that the police office has no power to grant it; that it is not a part of the duty of the officials there. In like manner from post to pillar, and office to office, is the unfortunate immigrant, or free person, bandied, till at length he discovers that he must reconcile himself to an evil which he cannot guard against.

This liability of arrest, and curtailment of the liberty of the subject, is one of the chief objections to New South Wales as the seat of extensive emigration; but the period cannot be far distant when the Legislative

Assembly will recognize the evil, and take speedy and effectual steps to abolish it.

In those positions where the extent of population makes it necessary, there are scattered throughout New South Wales stipendiary Magistrates, who have the advantage of the assistance of Justices of the Peace, nominated by the Governor, in the discharge of their duties. Where the seat of jurisdiction of a stipendiary Magistrate is fixed, there is formed, as occasion requires, by the neighbouring settlers in the Commission of the Peace, what is called a Bench of Magistrates, whose power over the convict population is very considerable. Quarter Sessions are also held at these stations, presided over by a barrister, as chairman, who is elected by the majority of these in the Commission of the Peace for the colony. Beyond the boundaries, none of these stations exist, and the offender there arrested has to be conveyed to the nearest one within the frontier, where his case is adjudicated.

As in all countries, so it is in New South Wales that land is the great source from whence wealth and prosperity emanate. But there is not, under the British Crown, a colony that has suffered so much from frequent changes in the system of management of the Crown lands. From the foundation of the colony, up to the year 1832, no land was *sold* in New South Wales by the Crown. It was conferred by grant on the free settlers and immigrants, in proportion to their resources or services. Thus, previously to the year 1832, any person arriving in the colony with capital was immediately assigned, on application, allotments of land, in

proportion to the means he had of stocking or cultivating it. But the system of free grants was not confined to such as wished to cultivate or graze the land; men of influence or official position procured grants by tens of thousand of acres, which they hoped at some future period might prove valuable. And this has turned out to be the case, but to the manifest injury of the true interests of the colony.

Expiree, or emancipated, convicts were large partakers in the benefits of the free grant system, as no small share fell to their lot. But too frequently, the land thus easily obtained by application, was afterwards alienated and disposed of, for very trifling sums, to enable the original allottee to indulge in the vice of the colony—drunkenness; and thus vast tracts of country became vested in the hands of particular individuals. On a great portion of the land “granted” by the Crown, a little more than a nominal “quit rent” had been imposed, which, in consequence of the vacillating policy of the Colonial Governors, was at times allowed to accumulate to a large sum, instead of being regularly levied.

In 1842 and 1843, Sir George Gipps thought fit to enforce the payment of the arrears of the “quit rents,” and the consequence was, that scores of previously prosperous and independent settlers were reduced to absolute penury. For the Crown not only asserted, but absolutely carried into execution, their right to levy for the liquidation of these arrears.

The period chosen for these stringent measures was one of the most fatal for the colonists that possibly could be; property of every kind had been reduced to little more

than a nominal value, in consequence of the monetary difficulties of the colony; and it is absolutely a fact, that in the Hunter's River districts, in carrying into force these levies for "quit rent," sheep were disposed of at the rate of 9*d.* per head, and cattle at a few shillings. At least three-fourths of the land which the Crown has alienated in New South Wales was disposed of by grant previously to the year 1832, when land sales first commenced, and much of it in such large lots as to create a monopoly of good land in the hands of the upper and wealthier class of colonists.

In 1832, Lord Ripon first propagated, and directed to be carried out in New South Wales, a system by which waste or Crown lands in the colony were to be disposed of at a rate of 5*s.* per statute acre. This, some years afterwards, was altered, and the minimum price fixed at 12*s.*, whilst the mode of disposal was by auction, at which 12*s.* was only the minimum price, any one being at liberty to enter into competition for the lot, and run the price up.

Again, previously to 1840, the minimum price was once more raised, from 12*s.* to £1, and the system of sale by auction continued. From the close of 1838, the demand for land had vastly increased, and instead of meeting it with an unlimited disposal of the Crown lands of the colony in attainable portions, the executive increased the *furor*, till it became an absolute mania, by limiting the supply, which was doled out by auction in such extensive lots as only placed it in the power of large capitalists to purchase. By this means, *speculation* in waste lands was encouraged, and monied men purchased in large blocks to divide and re-sell, at



enormous profits, to the small farmers, whose interest should have been first consulted, and every facility given them towards acquiring a vested interest in the soil. But the interest of the immigrant farmer was little thought of; facilities were only to be given to those already rich, to increase and multiply their wealth.

The general size of the country lots of land, disposed of by the Government, was 640 acres, each of which was denominated "a section;" suburban and town lands were likewise sold, the former in plots from five to fifty acres, the latter by the foot or yard, in small patches.

The lands that the farmers required were the country lots, but such was their extent, that it was completely beyond their means to purchase a section; to cast their hopes on suburban or town sections was equally futile; they brought such a price as left them much beyond reach of the cultivator, scores per acre being paid for the suburban, and pounds per foot for town allotments. It was no use for the small capitalist or farmer to appear at one of the land sales of that period in New South Wales; he was immediately outbid by the speculators, who seemed to view him as an intruder on their preserve. One pound per acre was not the minimum price of suburban or town allotments, the upset price of these was regulated by the executive, according to their situation and supposed value. The prices that competition ran waste lands up to, are scarcely to be conceived; country sections of but little fertility, and in some cases without water, bringing six, seven, and eight pounds per acre. The speculators cared but little what kind of land it was: so as it lay in a locality

that had a name, that was sufficient. They never troubled it with a personal visit to inspect its advantages; they left the persons to whom they would mete it out to do that part of the business hereafter.

In most instances, as soon as a speculator purchased a section at the Government sale, or three or four in a block, as the case might be, he employed a surveyor to divide it into sections and allotments, conferring some high-sounding name upon it, and representing, in superfluous terms, its many advantages. The map completed, a day of sale by auction was named; the many-coloured chart of the estate was exhibited in the auctioneer's mart; and favourable terms, in the shape of a deposit of 20 per cent. on the purchase, and long credit for the balance, were advertised. The result of all this was, further excitement, and speculation amongst a class of persons of small means. Thus the spirit of land-speculation spread, and was administered to; whereas, it could, on its first budding, have been at once suppressed, if the executive had fully met the demand, by direct and unlimited supplies of Crown lands, in small and large allotments, as the public required.

The ideas of the large land-holders of New South Wales were much elevated by the prices at which Crown lands were disposed of, and they were induced to set a value on their vast possessions, totally disproportioned to their actual worth. All this created a fictitious state of matters, and acted as an effectual bar to the creation of an extensive body of small farmers and cultivators; for what could be the earthly use of purchasing—if even they had the means—land, the mere produce of which never could repay the interest of the money

expended, much less make them a return for their exertions.

But a thunderbolt had for some time hung over New South Wales and its landed system; and, in 1840, towards the close of the year, it was launched, in the shape of a decree from the Colonial Office, then presided over by Lord John Russell. This decree directed all lands belonging to the Crown in New South Wales, to be disposed of at the fixed price of £1 per acre. Auction sales were abolished, all competition thus prevented, and the purchasers obtained a right to the mines and minerals beneath the soil, if any such existed, which had never before been conferred on them, as all such were reserved to the Crown, in previous grants and sales.

This change brought to a close all insane speculation, and the fictitious value of land; but it inflicted such a blow on the colony at the time, that it has not as yet recovered from its staggering effects. Yet the present Premier cannot be blamed for this: as it was absolutely necessary to put an end to the mania, and settle a fixed value on the Crown lands. Although £1 is so much below the prices given for land in and previous to 1840, yet its value is now so well ascertained, that but very few sections have comparatively been disposed of, even at that price, within the last few years.

Since the promulgation of Lord John Russell's regulation, a modification in the land system has been again effected; the custom of sale by auction has been resumed, with the minimum price of £1; but this change seems to have had but little effect in inducing more extensive purchases of Crown lands.

At present, any one desiring to purchase a particular block or section of 640 acres of Crown lands that has been surveyed, but remains undisposed of, can have it put up by auction at the next land-sale, on giving notice of his desire to the Treasury Department,—the applicant always undertaking to purchase at the fixed minimum price. No preference is given to any party in the purchase, the highest bidder obtains the land.

Notwithstanding the many changes in the New South Wales land system, from the period of 1832, and the competition in the market of the monster grantees of the colony's early days, yet the executive received up to December, 1842, for Crown lands alone, the sum of £1,116,813, of which £1,032,081 was expended in immigration.

This immense sum, drawn from the colony within a period of ten years, was more than it could bear, because when money was paid for Crown lands, it was at once effectually withdrawn. No part of it was disbursed in the colony, as it was remitted to England to pay for the introduction of immigrants. This great drain of course seriously injured the monetary position of the country and all classes of colonists. In the calm and sober period that ensued, after misfortune had, with a severe rod, scourged the follies of the inhabitants of New South Wales, and made them, if not better at least wiser men, attention and inquiry has been turned to the *real bonâ fide value* of waste Crown lands by those intending to become purchasers.

In its natural state, the herbage on all the lands of New South Wales is thin; the grass grows in tufts, or separate

blades, few and far between; this of course renders a very large space necessary for the subsistence of a sheep, or beast; and it is an ascertained fact, that not less than from five to six acres will feed a sheep, and twenty a beast. The annual returns from sheep and cattle exclusive of their increase, after deducting the expense of tending them, cannot be computed at more than 12 per cent. The average value of a sheep at present, in the colony, is from 5s. to 7s. per head (prime quality), and of a horned beast, £1. 10s. to £2. 10s. To pasture one of these, at the present upset price of land, a person would have to expend £6 for a sheep, and £20 for a beast; yet he would, in most prosperous times, reckon himself well off, if he realized a clear 12 per cent on the value of the stock, without taking into calculation the price of land. If that were taken into consideration, 6d. per head from the sheep, and 5s. from the cattle would go but a short way towards making up the lowest rate of interest on money, obtainable without risk or trouble in Europe. But the Government itself, by a late Act, plainly defines the true value of the soil for pastoral purposes, or even agricultural ones, in distant places, although, by a strange anomaly, it yet retains the minimum price at £1 per acre, in case of sale.

Under a regulation of Sir George Gipps, in 1844, land that has been surveyed within the boundaries, but has not been disposed of, is now put up to auction, and let for short stated terms. The upset, or reserved price for rent of a section of 640 acres, by the year, is but £5. Thus, a person can have for £5 per annum, an extent of land, for which he would have to give £640, if he

wished to purchase it. It is not strange, therefore, that of late land sales have all but ceased in the colony; for what person in his senses would invest a sum of money, for which, at the Colonial rate of interest (10 per cent.), he could procure £64 per annum, in a purchase that he might obtain on lease for £5 annual rent. This strange disparity in the relative value put on Crown lands by the colonial authorities, between their purchase and the annual rent, forms but too convincing an argument of the inability of the Colonial Office, as at present constituted, to govern with prudence and ability our over-grown colonial dependencies.

England is also much too distant to control or direct such internal matters as the land system of New South Wales. A particular position of affairs may suddenly call for alteration, or improvement in some part of the system; but twelve months must elapse before the Colonial Office can be referred to, and their directions on the matter received; before that period, another change may have come over the face of matters, and thus the orders received, are against them—often entirely inapplicable to the case. None can better understand, than those on the spot, the true value of the lands in different districts of the colony; and to those only who are interested in the well-being of the country and the increase of its revenue, to meet the various demands upon it, should the control of the Crown lands be confided.

The Legislative Assembly is the body under whose management the waste lands should be disposed of, by sale or lease; but it should be made compulsory on them, to dispose of such land as is suitable for agricultural

purposes, in small lots, and at low prices, so as to place it within the reach of the labouring population.

This is the more necessary, as, up to the present period, the landholders of New South Wales have shown no disposition to promote on their possessions the settlement of a class of small cultivators and farmers. Their only desire is to obtain labour, and to get that at as cheap a rate as possible.

It seems to be at present imagined, that the promotion and encouragement of small cultivators on their own account, would seriously detract from the available supply of labour, and cause the flocks and herds of the large proprietors to be neglected. Whether it would or not, is not to be argued here; but the proprietors of New South Wales should be made aware, that theirs is not the exclusive interest of the country; and that all immigrants should be afforded, as well as themselves, opportunities of becoming freeholders of the soil, and raising themselves in the social scale. It should, in fact, be inculcated by the Colonial Office, that England does not found distant colonies to extend and perpetuate a landed aristocracy. At present, in New South Wales, agriculture is the only means by which such returns can be obtained from land as would warrant the expenditure of principal in its purchase.

It may be supposed, that the introduction of artificial grasses would enable the land to support a better proportion of stock; but this, by frequent experiments, has been shown to be next to impossible, as the extreme heat, and excessive drought at times, effectually destroy European grasses.



But a very small portion indeed of the land of New South Wales is calculated for agriculture, perhaps scarcely five per cent. of the entire; but the country is so vast in extent, that even this small proportion would support an immense population. The land best suited for cultivation is generally situated on the banks of streams, rivers, or creeks; but at times there are elsewhere found isolated patches of much fertility, "oases in the desert." In some places there is a vast extent of alluvial soil, particularly in the neighbourhood of the Hunter and its tributaries. The produce of this soil is very great, in some instances yielding forty, and even fifty bushels of prime wheat to the acre, with but little cultivation. The land turned, and the seed put in, Nature does the rest; manure is but seldom resorted to. But even this produce is of no value to the settler after his own wants are supplied, unless he is within a reasonable distance from a market. It would never pay to buy even the best agricultural land, some two hundred miles in the interior, and afterwards have to transport the produce to Sydney, or the sea-coast, entirely by land-carriage.

The general prices of agricultural produce—wheat at 4s. or 3s. 6d., and maize at 2s. per bushel—would not admit of the expense of such carriage. So, unless in favourable situations near the coast, or on navigable rivers, at present, even agricultural land in the colony is not worth £1 pound per acre. But in the purchase of a "section," it seldom, indeed, falls to the lot of any one to obtain entire alluvial, or cultivateable soil: the mode of survey pursued by the executive, is to give but a narrow water-frontage to each section—where water

exists—and run it back, with an equal breadth throughout, till 640 acres are enclosed. By this means, the front of a section may be the most desirable land, whilst the rear is rocky, barren, and valueless. In purchasing land, therefore, in New South Wales, the greatest care should be taken, *personally* to examine the entire “section,” front and back.

Much the greater portion of the good lands of the colony, in advantageous situations, has long since passed into the hands of the “monster grantees;” at least, if not throughout the entire colony, in the neighbourhood of Sydney and the surrounding districts.

It is to be hoped, with the present enlightened Secretary for the Colonies, Lord Grey, at the head of affairs, that the land-system of New South Wales will undergo a complete change and improvement: that the minimum price will be considerably lowered, and much greater facilities given to the labouring classes to purchase small allotments; the execution and arrangement of all details, being left in the hands of the Colonial Legislative Assembly.

Those lands, within the boundaries, that remain unsold, are not only leased in the manner already described, but are occupied, if not otherwise disposed of, in the same terms as land beyond the boundaries: that is, by payment of a license fee of £10, and a small assessment on stock. At present, it is in contemplation, and a Bill has passed through the British Parliament, to enable leases to be bestowed upon the squatters and others occupying unsold Crown lands: fourteen years is the proposed period for these leases.

These arrangements, and the general management of the Crown lands, were, according to the last accounts from the colony, about to be submitted to the Legislative Assembly; but it is to be hoped that no fixity of tenure, or permanency of occupancy, will be bestowed upon the squatter, to the exclusion of the industrious and enterprising cultivator.

*Squatting* in New South Wales, is the occupation without purchase of the Crown lands, within the bounds of the colony, and of the vast extent of territory beyond the frontiers, or rather old line of demarcation. A squatter obtains his temporary right to what land he requires by procuring a licence from the Crown land Commissioners in the colony, for which he pays annually, the sum of £10; besides being subject to a small annual assessment on his sheep, cattle and horses, for the support of a border police.

The squatters are the great producing class of the colony: their vast herds and flocks out-number by many degrees the scanty numbers depastured on the purchased, or granted, land of the country; and they are daily extending themselves, deeper and deeper into the central regions of Australia.

A person intending to become a squatter first purchases his sheep or cattle, as the case may be, and then if he gets no station with them, sets out in quest of a place as yet unoccupied, where good water, and a plentiful supply of it, and pasturage exist. To obtain such, it is necessary to push beyond the point the most distant settler has attained, and in new regions seek for what he wants. The new squatter is generally accompanied

by some men, well acquainted with the colony, and these materially aid in the search.

When a desirable place with necessary requisites is found, the master returns to where his sheep and cattle are, and drives them onwards by easy journeys to the intended place of location. The Commissioner of Crown lands is applied to; a license taken out for the occupation of the new run; and a store of sugar, tea, salt and slop clothes, for the use of the squatter and his men, is brought up from Sydney, or one of the other towns, sufficient to last many months. Arrived with his flocks and herds at his place of intended settlement, the squatter sets some of his men to work, to construct a stout stock-yard, and hurdles, for his cattle and sheep; whilst others proceed to erect a bark or slab hut, for the accommodation of the master and men. Until the hut is completed, and the stock-yard and hurdles finished, master and men rough it out under a few sheets of bark, or a tarpaulin tent; whilst the cattle are watched by men on horseback during the day, and yarded at night in temporary enclosures, formed of trees and thick branches, cut down for the purpose, until they become accustomed to their new run, and little danger exists of their straying away to a distance. The sheep are tended by their shepherds, and the flocks kept at night in bush-yards, before the hurdles are finished. At all times, it is necessary to watch the sheep-folds at night, for the country swarms with native dogs—a description of fox in appearance—which proves most destructive to sheep. If a native dog obtains access to a fold, it generally happens that he bites and mangles a large number of the flock, sometimes

thirty or forty, although he may only consume a small portion of a single sheep. In a few weeks, the squatter has his own slab hut erected, others for his men, and all the necessaries for the safe-keeping of his flocks; and he settles down into a monotonous round of the unvaried scenes of bush-life. If he is industrious, he clears a space of ground for a garden, and tills some of it—that is if no land, as is generally the case, is already prepared by Nature for the immediate reception of seed. A dairy, too, is not unfrequently added to the concern, and cheese and butter are prepared for the nearest market, which is generally Sydney. Months pass on, and if the squatter is persevering, he has formed around him a comfortable and thriving scene; but it is too frequently the case that neither garden or dairy is to be seen in the vicinity of stations; and whilst the stockman or shepherd pursue their avocations, the squatter is lying in his bed in the hut, or galloping after native dogs, or hunting kangaroos in the forest.

Once or twice a year, the squatter conveys his butter and cheese, or wool and live-stock, to Sydney for sale, bringing back the stores he may require. The Crown lands Commissioners also pay him a visit annually, in order to ascertain the extent of his stock, and other particulars.

As time passes onwards, other squatters pass beyond him, to the next available place; and, again, as soon as years bring such an increase to the squatter's stock as his run is unable to accommodate, he has again to seek other stations, still further inland, whither to send a portion of his flocks and herds. Onward, still onward,

each squatter passes, as his stock extends, and thus he becomes the pioneer of civilization in this vast region.

It is strange that the squatters attend but little to personal comforts. Although the richest land may lie at their door, yet very often they are so slothful as not to raise a few vegetables of the commonest kinds ; wheat enough for the wants of the stations may be cultivated, but that is all. The writer has in many instances known cases, where squatters would not take the trouble to have a cow driven in and milked, although hundreds were near at hand ; but actually preferred, rather than make that little exertion, to take their tea without milk. Yet this is not a universal picture ; there are numerous worthy exceptions. Indeed, much of the neglect to be witnessed at the Australian squatting stations is attributable to the fact, that the owners seldom reside on the stations ; they are generally managed by overseers, or superintendents, whose continuance at the place, is dependent on the will of some over-grown stockholder, or Sydney merchant, who cares little about what appearance the station makes, so that it be cheaply managed and makes good returns.

At squatting stations, there is generally what is called a home, or head-station, around which, according to the extent of stock, out-stations are established. There are seldom more than two flocks of sheep kept at any one station ; as it is found disadvantageous to drive such stock, in a warm climate, to a distant pasture, which it would be necessary to do, if too great a number radiated daily from one centre. No squatter is allowed to occupy more land than the extent of his present stock warrants, and its probable increase for four years ; but sometimes



if there is no water near, but that at his particular station, he is left "alone in his glory," and has scores of miles dividing him and his nearest neighbour.

Water is the great want of the squatters in the boundless interior of Australia: rivers are seldom met with, and even when they are, they do not always afford a constant supply of water throughout the year. During the heats of summer they cease to flow; and then, what has been the bed of the stream in the wet season, becomes merely a succession of water-holes, which not unfrequently entirely dry up. This is the general character of the rivers of central Australia, but there are some instances in which the rivers never cease to flow.

Where rivers or creeks do not exist, there are sometimes found single deep water-holes, which seem to have been provided by Nature, as some amends for the general want of running waters. The water of the creeks and water-holes is generally more or less brackish, and the same peculiarity exists in water that has been obtained by sinking; springs are seldom met with, in any part of the country. Much of the land of internal Australia must at all periods remain unpeopled, owing to the dearth of water; moreover, there are many parts, where barren ranges of steep hills spread for miles upon miles, bearing nothing on their surface but stringy bark or bastard box-trees, which are universally recognised in New South Wales as a convincing proof of the sterility of the soil on which they grow.

Although the squatters are the great producing class of New South Wales, yet they possess no voice in the legislature of the colony; they possess no franchise in right of their



flocks and herds, and consequently no vote for the representatives of districts.

This certainly is not as it should be—this powerful and useful body of colonists should be fully represented; they have to undergo many hardships, privations and dangers in the wilderness of the interior; and, as they are the people who produce three-fourths of the wool, tallow and hides, that form the great exports of the colony, they certainly have a right to possess a voice in the control, and it may be said, disposal of their fortunes. A qualification, founded on stock, could be established without difficulty; and there would be little fear of settlers obtaining surreptitious votes, by false returns of their sheep and cattle, as such returns always affect their pockets, being taken by the Crown Commissioners, as the basis on which assessments are made.

Beyond the boundaries, the squatters suffer much from want of small towns or settlements, where they could purchase, from time to time, such articles as they may require. At present, when a squatter wants tools, tea, sugar, or other such matters, he is obliged to send his dray and team of bullocks some hundreds of miles, often too when it is not shearing time, and he has nothing to load his dray down with, although the journey is so long and expensive. The executive should not confine the enterprise of the people within the strict bounds of the colony, when they desire to establish small towns, to act as central depôts, for the accommodation of the surrounding squatters.

Convenient points on rivers or streams, beyond the colony's bounds, should be sought out; where there is

already squatting in the vicinity, the land should be surveyed and disposed of in small lots to any purchaser. By this means, centralization would be assisted, and religion, morality, with the accommodation, and benefit of the squatters, materially promoted. There is no question, but that inhabitants would soon be found for these small settlements, and scores might be established in different places wide apart, acting as points from whence civilisation and education could be extended around.

At present, there cannot be less than 30,000 individuals, inclusive of servants, squatting on Crown lands, within the boundaries, or beyond the frontiers. This large number of persons exist from month to month, and year to year, in a state little better than the savage. Of food they have abundance; and if servants, good wages are theirs, if free. But of religion they never hear—and education, or the softening influence of instruction, are to them, but things they know to exist in the home of their youth in fatherland, or, in some degree, in Sydney or the chief towns of the colony. No minister of religion at times directs the thoughts of these dwellers in the wilderness to the duties for which they were created; no song of praise ascends to heaven from assembled worshippers; and no words of combined prayer disturb the solitary echoes of the woods and forests. If the name of the Creator is ever heard, it is connected with a curse or anathema; vice reigns predominant beyond the boundaries. The population are almost entirely engaged in tending sheep, or herding cattle, and consequently, they frequently come into contact with the Aborigines. Children of nature, the untutored savages, if at peace

with the squatters, soon fall victims to .  
 Their *gins* (wives), or daughters, are taken .  
 and the diseases of the white man, extended  
 remorse, destroy and daily diminish the race of  
 gines as the squatter advances.

Seldom, indeed, in the backwoods, and distant sheep  
 and cattle stations of the colony, is the face of a white  
 woman seen ; they are considered a burthen on a station ;  
 and young children are entirely out of the question, when  
 a squatter is engaging servants. This further promotes  
 vice, and where black *gins* are unattainable, there is,  
 alas ! too much reason to believe, that the sin for which  
 God destroyed "the doomed cities" prevails amongst the  
 servants of squatters.

A large portion of the blame of this rests on the  
 heads of the squatters themselves ; the most useful and  
 the cheapest labour is what they seek for, without refe-  
 rence to morality ; and thus numbers of men, many of  
 them convict expirees, are brought together without the  
 presence of a female to check, control and humanize  
 them. The lessons imbibed in the chain gangs and penal  
 settlements are diffused without control or hindrance,  
 by the expirees of the party ; and if there is any free  
 man or immigrant among the number, *his feelings* are  
 soon laughed away, and he is taught to regard without  
 horror the most appalling crimes.

The establishment, in various places beyond the  
 frontiers, of small towns would undoubtedly act as  
 a check on the progress of vice ; for, in these towns,  
 clergymen and teachers could be established, as within

by degrees, would gather a congregation, induce the less depraved to attend their services and instructions. Example would be the great thing, no doubt, would draw many from the frightful course they have pursued.

Yet there are not a few squatters whose locations differ much from this general scene of vice; but the humanizing influence of the female sex is the cause. It is much to be hoped, that a considerable introduction of the female sex into the colony will have the effect of so much diminishing wages, as to induce settlers and squatters to engage young men and their wives, instead of continuing the system they at present practice. It is indeed true, that delicate women are not formed to bear the dangers and privations of distant stations; but on such as are less remote, proprietors should endeavour to preserve some proportion amongst the sexes.

A newly arrived immigrant, who intends to invest his capital in stock—sheep or cattle, should never think of purchasing without personally inspecting such, and taking good heed to have an honest, trustworthy man, under whose eye the stock should at once be branded on purchase.

Nor should he ever purchase stock of any kind by description or character; the herds and flocks, out of which purchased stock may come, might be of the best breeds in the colony, yet the buyer would get, in many cases, the culls of the lot, a collection of old ewes or wethers, affected with the scab or foot-rot. Let the immigrant's motto, in purchasing stock in New South Wales, be, to "trust no man or thing, but his own eyes." And

then even, if he depends on the latter, he may, unless "wide awake," be sometimes deceived: for such a thing as changing stock after purchase, but before branding, has happened, and with impunity, where large lots of cattle or sheep were in question.

The writer has even known cases where some of the largest stock owners in the colony have charged the highest price for flocks or herds, disposed of, in some instances, to persons who had brought them letters of introduction, yet ultimately they turned out, both sheep and cattle, to be nothing but the refuse of their herds and flocks. A settler should also be particularly cautious *never* to extend his purchases to the full amount of his capital; a reserved fund should be held, to keep the station going, without having resort to credit, and as a provision against contingencies. The stock owner does not know but that disease or drought may materially curtail the expected returns from herds or flocks, and then, how is he to meet the credits he has obtained, and pay his servants? And, besides, the Sydney merchants who supply stores on credit charge a good per centage on cash prices, and are not very patient if payments are irregular. Such are the changes that New South Wales has been subject to, that in 1843, Mr. Wentworth, one of the chief colonists, stated in the Legislative Assembly, it was a notorious fact, that "many squatters, with ten thousand sheep, could not obtain credit in Sydney or elsewhere, for a single bag of sugar, or a pound of tea."

It is not impossible that such times may come again; the changes in a new country are many and strange, so

the young squatter should eschew credit altogether, but buy for cash, and sell for the same, if possible.

Such persons should also be most cautious how they purchase stock on long credits, with a fourth or half the money paid down. Unless the buyer is certain of obtaining the balance for which he is credited, from some sure source, before the time of payment, he should never buy on credit, depending on the increase or produce of his stock for its liquidation. The writer has known instances, in which half the purchase money of herds of cattle and flocks of sheep has been paid down, credit being accepted for the balance, which not being paid when due, the entire stock returned to the hands of the original owner for his debt and costs.

It would be advisable, and much for the advantage of the squatter or settler, to dispose of his wool and tallow in the colony, for the best price he can obtain for it. The usual mode is to take it to the *store* of a merchant, and obtain an advance on it, the merchant shipping it to his correspondent in London or Liverpool. It must be experienced, to conceive the list of charges, commission, interest, &c., that is furnished to the squatter when the account-sales of his produce arrives in Sydney, and is handed to him by the merchant. Not unfrequently instead of having to receive a balance, he has one to pay. The system of advance is *most disadvantageous* for the producer; by it he is made to bear all risks, whilst the merchant runs none, but pockets his large commission. A squatter, by shipping produce through a merchant, becomes a speculator, and departs from his legitimate business. This he should not do—he should leave the

risk of profit or loss to the merchant, and dispose of his wool and tallow at once, and finally, in the colony: he will find plenty of buyers, and will then know at first what his returns are; instead of being kept in the dark for a year or two, as he would be, if he obtains an advance on account.

The writer does not think he can better conclude these pages on squatting in New South Wales, than by inserting a song, written and published in the colony, set to music in the year 1843. The author of this effusion was a squatter himself, and he naïvely describes the course and fate of one of these, which will serve as a true picture of many others, between 1838 and 1843. The names in the song are all real, with the exception of the hero, Billy Barlow himself; the facts were of every day occurrence at the period when it was written. Burdekin was the great Sydney money-lender, who, as already related in this work, has been “gathered to his fathers” since the song was written. Barr, Rodgers and Co., are Sydney solicitors; whilst Kinsmill, was a sheriff’s bailiff of colonial fame.

## THE SETTLER;

OR,

## BILLY BARLOW IN AUSTRALIA.

When I was at home, I was down on my luck,  
And I yearnt a good living by drawing a truck;  
But old aunt died, and left me a thousand—“oh, oh!  
I’ll start on my travels,” said Billy Barlow.

Oh dear, lackaday, oh!

So off to Australia came Billy Barlow.

When to Sydney I got, there a merchant I met,  
Who said he could teach me a fortune to get;



He'd cattle and sheep, past the colony's bounds,  
Which he sold with the station for my thousand pounds.

Oh dear, lackaday, oh !

He gammon'd the cash out of Billy Barlow.

When the bargain was struck, and the money was paid,  
He said, " My dear fellow, your fortune is made ;  
I can furnish supplies for the station, you know,  
And your bill is sufficient, good Mr. Barlow."

Oh dear, lackaday, oh !

A gentleman settler was Billy Barlow.

So I got my supplies, and I gave him my bill,  
And for New England started, my pockets to fill ;  
But by bushrangers met, with my traps they made free,  
'Took my horse, and left Billy bailed to a tree.

Oh dear, lackaday, oh !

I shall die of starvation, thought Billy Barlow,

At last I got loose, and I walked on my way ;  
A constable came up, and to me did say,  
" Are you free ?" says I ; " Yes, to be sure, don't you know ?"  
And I handed my card, " Mr. William Barlow."

Oh dear, lackaday, oh !

He said, " That's all gammon," to Billy Barlow.

Then he put on the handcuffs, and brought me away,  
Right back to Maitland, before Mr. Day ;  
When I said I was free, why the J. P. replied,  
" I must send you to Sydney to be i-identified."

Oh dear, lackaday, oh !

So to Sydney once more went poor Billy Barlow.

'They at last let me go, and I then did repair  
For my station once more, and at length I got there ;  
But a few days before, the blacks, you must know,  
Had spear'd all the cattle of Billy Barlow.

Oh dear, lackaday, oh !

It's a beautiful country ! said Billy Barlow.

And for nine months before, no rain there had been,  
So the devil a blade of grass could be seen ;

And one-third of my wethers the scab they had got,  
And the other two-thirds had just died of the rot.

Oh dear, lackaday, oh !

I shall soon be a settler, said Billy Barlow.

And the matter to mend, now my bill was near due,  
So I wrote to my friend, and just asked to renew ;  
He replied, he was sorry he couldn't, because,  
The bill had pass'd into Tom Burdekin's claws.

Oh dear, lackaday, oh !

But perhaps he'll renew it, said Billy Barlow.

I applied ; to renew he was quite content,  
If secured, and allowed just 300 per cent !  
But as I couldn't do it, Barr, Rodgers & Co.  
Soon sent up a summons for Billy Barlow.

Oh dear, lackaday, oh !

They soon settled the business of Billy Barlow.

For a month or six weeks I stewed over my loss,  
And a tall man rode up one day, on a black horse ;  
He asked, “ Don't you know me ? ” I answered him, “ No ! ”  
“ Why,” says he, “ my name's Kinsmill ; how are you, Barlow ? ”

Oh dear, lackaday, oh !

He'd got a *fi-fa* for poor Billy Barlow.

What I had left of my sheep, and my traps, he did seize ;  
And he said, “ They won't pay all the costs and my fees ! ”  
Then he sold off the lot, and I'm sure 'twas a sin,  
At sixpence per head, and the station given in.

Oh dear, lackaday, oh !

I'll go back to England, said Billy Barlow.

#### ADDITIONAL VERSES.

My sheep being sold, and my money all gone,  
Oh, I wandered about then, quite sad and forlorn ;  
How I managed to live, it would shock you to know,  
And as thin as a lath, got poor Billy Barlow.

Oh dear, lackaday, oh !

Quite down on his luck was poor Billy Barlow.

And in a few weeks more, the sheriff, you see,  
Sent the tall man on horseback once more unto me ;  
Having got all he could by the writ of *fi-fa*,  
By way of a change, he'd brought a *ca-sa*.

Oh dear, lackaday, oh !

He seized on the body of Billy Barlow.

He took me to Sydney, and there he did lock,  
Poor unfortunate Billy fast " under the clock,"  
And to get myself out, I was forced, you must know,  
The schedule to file of poor Billy Barlow.

Oh dear, lackaday, oh !

In the list of insolvents was Billy Barlow.

Then once more I got free, but in poverty's toil ;  
I've no " cattle for salting," no " sheep for to boil ;"  
I can't get a job, though to any I'd stoop,  
If 'twas only the making of " portable soup."

Oh dear, lackaday, oh !

Pray give some employment to Billy Barlow.

## CHAPTER IV.

LABOUR IN NEW SOUTH WALES, CONVICT AND FREE—PRODUCE—  
CLIMATE—STATE OF SOCIETY—BANKING SYSTEM.

AT the present time, there are loud and frequent demands for labour of every kind from New South Wales; and the most flattering prospect of high wages and prosperity is held forth to those who would emigrate thither. These statements of high wages are true enough at the present moment, as far as regards particular classes of workmen; but they should be received with much caution by the tradesman, mechanic, and artizan. As already stated, in a previous part of this work, the demand for mechanics, generally, in a new country, must be limited; for their services are but little required except in the few scattered towns and cities.

The position of artizans in the colony, between the years 1841 and 1843, was so deplorable that many were in a state bordering on want, and no doubt would have actually starved, was it not that provisions of all kinds were extremely cheap. Poverty was the lot of mechanics of all descriptions, not even excepting those whose trades, in the erection of buildings and the supply of actual wants, were in most request. How miserable and reduced, therefore, must have been the condition of those

whose knowledge only extended to supplying and manufacturing articles of luxury or expense. In 1844, the supply of mechanical labour in the colony much exceeded the demand; this produced the effect of calling down the reprobation of one of the most respectable of the Sydney journals on those emigration agents at home, who represented that there was a large demand for mechanics in the colony at high rates of wages, when in reality, the opposite was the case: hundreds of them parading the streets of Sydney, unable to obtain a single day's work at their trades.

At the present moment, the highest rates of wages for journeymen may be said to vary from five to eight shillings per day; the higher sum is the extreme rate in those trades most scantily supplied with workmen. "There is a fair, healthy supply, of all kinds of mechanics in Sydney at the present moment," writes a friend of the author, from Sydney, on the 28th of March, 1847. "Wages are on the whole good, but employment is precarious in many instances. A few days since, I required the services of four carpenters at some cottages I am erecting on the Surrey hills," (a suburb of Sydney) "but I could only procure two, yet to-day not less than twenty have called upon me offering their services. There are numbers of tradesmen finding their way to Sydney daily; most of these men were compelled to become shepherds, hut-keepers, or common labourers, to preserve themselves from starvation, during the fearful years of 1842, 43 and 44, and have since continued in the bush. But now that wages are good, and employment more general for them, they are abandoning, as their engagements expire, their

adopted course of life, and returning to that which necessity alone compelled them for a time to lay aside. From your knowledge of the colony, you must be well aware, that our great want is, and always must be, agricultural labourers and shepherds ; of tradesmen in my opinion, we have a sufficient supply for years to come, when they all find their way into the market ; for many mechanics with families are yet at other employment in the bush. The difficulties of coming hundreds of miles down the country, with women or children, are many ; moreover, they some short time since got such a heart-scalding of Sydney, that they seem afraid to trust themselves in it, until better assured of the permanence of the present prosperity.

“ House rent is as high, if not higher than ever ; for a decent comfortable house, with three rooms and a kitchen, a tradesman must pay from fourteen shillings to a pound a week, according to situation, and this helps materially to counterbalance the cheapness of provisions. There are rates to pay now, which was not the case some time since. The tax-gatherer pays periodical visits ; there is a borough rate and a police rate, and we are threatened with a water rate, and a lighting rate. All this tends materially to diminish the wages the mechanics receive, which is not after all so much above that paid in England, to good workmen, and the difference can scarcely be looked upon as a sufficient recompense for a journey of 16,000 miles, the abandonment of home, relatives, friends, and all that tends to make life happy, to settle in a colony, the morality and society of which, I need not tell *you* about ; five years' residence was quite sufficient to satisfy you on those points.

“ Three or four short years have made much alteration in our position. Then we did not know what to do with our unemployed free population ; we had to employ them on the streets, or assist them in leaving the colony. You may remember the many petitions presented to Sir George Gipps in 1843, urging him to withdraw from private assignment all convict labour in order to *create* a want, and source of employment for the free. But at present no such petitions are in vogue ; the only question is how to procure at reasonable wages shepherds and stockmen. It is frequently the case at present, that shepherds or agricultural labourers receive as much as £28, and I have heard of £30, per annum. I do not consider that either sheep or cattle will pay as they should do, whilst this rate of wages is current. Twenty pounds per annum, with the good and plentiful rations, now generally distributed to pastoral or agricultural servants, is fully as much as any master is warranted by his returns to give. As a strong exhibition of my conviction on this point, I have within the last six weeks disposed of all my sheep and cattle in the Maneroo district. Besides my disinclination to give the current wages to shepherds and stockmen, I should soon have been under the necessity of seeking down in Gipps’ Land, two hundred miles from my present stations, for ‘ runs’ for my increased stock. I have partly bartered my sheep for houses in Sydney, and the proceeds of the cattle I also intend to invest in building, which I consider, will under present circumstances yield a larger return for my money than stock-keeping, although the last five years have been particularly favourable, as far as regarded weather, for the increase of every description of



stock. My sheep realized the greater portion, I think about six and sixpence per head; at this conclusion I arrive by putting a value on the houses I took in exchange, which I was offered since my acquisition of them. The cattle I got two guineas per head for, all round—under six months given in—but this in reality, I consider much more than they were worth; thirty-five shillings would have satisfied me, but H——y who made the sale, finding he had got hold of a ‘new arrival’ with ‘more money than wit,’ stuck the extra seven shillings on, over the *general* price, representing the right of station as an equivalent, although truly the station is worth nothing, because it is much too small for the extent of stock, and another must soon be sought for; but it would not be worth while to divide the herd, the number is not sufficient, so the present station cannot long be retained. The cattle were not of my original stock, they were the riff-raff I picked up about Goulburn and Yass plains, in 1843 and 1844; I do not think on an average they cost me fifteen shillings per head, besides, the increase since their purchase has been considerable; I bought, in all the lots, 413; I sold out, exclusive of six months’ calves, 781.

“As you will perceive, labour is the chief topic in the Sydney papers at present. I do believe the squatters would gladly return to the old convict times, if they could, when labour was to be had for next to nothing. But these golden days are vanished, gone by I fear, never to return. The Government will no longer furnish Australian stock-owners with labour at their expense. What think you, society was not bad enough already, but we are actually going to receive large additions to our population,

from imports of South Sea and Pacific Islanders, who have been, and are to be engaged under indenture as shepherds, &c., for a term of years. One of 'Wanderer' B——'s ships, arrived with one cargo lately, and she has sailed for some more. Associations also are about being formed, for importing large numbers of these savages—for little better indeed are they. But think of getting these beings to sign—by attaching their mark—indentures of which they really understand as little as a child a twelvemonth old.

"At present, the Government take no notice of the matter; but they soon will have to do so, as no doubt these unfortunate people will, owing to their ignorance of the habits of civilized life, have to suffer much in their new avocations. The old convicts are not likely to approve of these introductions, and unquestionably they will exercise much tyranny, when possible, over these children of nature.

"How much better would it be, if, by means of State assistance, or by the aid of the Poor Law Unions, a certain number of able-bodied paupers, men and women, without encumbrance, were enabled annually to emigrate to this colony. They should all be accustomed to a country life, for it is shepherds, stockmen, and agricultural labourers, and none others, that are wanting.

"It is folly for broken-down tradesmen, men of education, or artizans, to come hither; it is almost impossible to change the nature of such, and induce them to abandon the habits of years, the occupations they have been brought up to from childhood, to assume the shepherd's crook, or begin to delve with the spade. The inroad of such, will

do no good for themselves, but seriously affect the prospects of many already here. A common Scotch shepherd, or Lancashire labourer, is of more value here at present than half-a-dozen medical men, tradesmen, mechanics, or clerks.

“At the present time, I should think from 6000 to 8000 immigrants would meet immediate employment; within the year, 10,000 could find masters and good wages. Annually, the demand for labour will largely extend, as our flocks and herds increase. If 10,000 able-bodied paupers were sent to our shores this year, they would *all* be provided for; next year, 14,000 could be taken, and so on, year after year, would an increased demand exist, which would be the means of providing well for a portion of the overplus of the home population that crowd the union workhouses.

“The proprietors of New South Wales are at present so anxious for labour, that I have no doubt they would receive, with thanks, an offer to send this year 40,000 emigrants to these shores. Some of the Sydney papers speak of this number as likely to be employed. But this would be folly, flying from one extreme to another: what the colony wants, is a systematic course of emigration, founded upon their real and recognized wants. That immigration the colony cannot afford to pay for themselves, but the Government of England and the Poor-Law Unions can; because it would relieve them of an annual mass of pauperism, the support of which is entailed on them from year to year, and would also have the effect of creating a further demand for home manufactures, that would soon repay England for the capital expended

in carrying to New South Wales the people to create this demand. There is no portion of the globe, even with a population four times as great as New South Wales, that consumes such a large quantity of English manufactured goods. Any considerable number of emigrants, could be conveyed to the colony at the rate of £12 per head, including passage money and diet. Three pounds per head more would furnish an outfit for the pauper, so that for an expense of £15, he would be landed in a colony where he would be certain, if suited for pastoral or agricultural life, of obtaining employment at not less than £20 per annum, with board and lodging: that is, such lodging as bush huts afford, and rations at the rate of 12 lbs. of fresh meat, 10 lbs. of flour, and 2 oz. of tea with  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of sugar per week. Such is the scale of dictary in the Bush of New South Wales; and milk is always added *ad libitum*, where cattle are milked on the station. No doubt many farmers, at home, would be glad to fare all the year round thus; of course, you know how well the servants of settlers and squatters have always been fed; but it is much better than usual with them within the last year, as provisions are so cheap.

“ If the pauper remains at home, a continual burthen on his parish, his support costs something better than £9 per annum, exclusive of the cost of management. At this rate, the amount expended on little more than a year and a half’s maintenance would serve to convey him to this colony, where he would be enabled, annually, to expend some £6 or £7, in the purchase of British manufactures. Oh! what real blessings would a well-digested system of pauper emigration to Australia, not only confer on

the individuals themselves, but also on the colony generally. But it is absolutely necessary that the labour-market should not be flooded with immigrants: a careful eye should always be kept on the *real requirements of the colony*.

“Is it not deplorable to see so many of our fellow-countrymen perishing at home of hunger; yet into this—a British colony—are introduced savages from the Pacific Islands, to fill the place intended by Providence for our own countrymen! It is, indeed, much to be hoped, that before this, Government at home has turned its attention to this question, and resolved, by a well-regulated supply of our wants, to aid the colony, form a market for British goods, and an outlet for a portion of the pauperism of over-populated Britain.

“I have not parted with my herds and flocks on the River Murrumbidgee, as I am in hopes that the price of labour will be reduced before long by immigration. For the last two years, I have had all my fat wethers melted down, and my fat horned cattle, I have had disposed of for the same purpose; last year, there were at least 300,000 sheep, and 60,000 head of cattle, slaughtered in this and the Port Phillip district, and this year, I have no doubt there will be at least 600,000 sheep, and 80,000 head of cattle, disposed of in the same way. Many squatters and settlers prefer having their stock slaughtered, to paying shepherds £27, or £28 per annum.

“All over the colony, there are now erected boiling-down establishments, where proprietors can get their stock boiled down for a small commission. In the neighbourhood of some of these places, and around many of the inland towns, prime

legs of mutton are retailed at one halfpenny per pound ; as, from the fleshy nature of that portion of the sheep, it is not worth while to commit it to the boiling-pan. At the lowest computation, I should calculate, that from 12,000 to 13,000 tons of tallow will be exported from the colony this year. This should be worth in England, on an average, £42 per ton, at the very least, which would thus produce from this source alone, the large sum of half a million, exclusive of hides, which might be roughly set down at £40,000 ; so you see, we are in a way, largely to increase our exports.

“ Cultivation of the vine and tobacco has been rapidly extending of late in the districts of the Hunter, and more northerly. The mulberry and silk-worm have also attracted much attention of late, and experiments in their cultivation have met with success. Cotton also has been much spoken of as likely to be raised with success to the northward. But all these require much manual labour, and of that we are sadly deficient ; so all these new schemes must, until we obtain that chief necessary, be only spoken of as resources that may at some future period be developed.”

Such were the ideas and opinions of an extensive settler, in the early part of 1847. This gentleman has been resident some fifteen years in the colony, and well understands its position and prospects.

Up to the year 1840, convicts were extensively introduced into the colony, and largely assigned to those settlers and squatters who applied for their services. Since these importations ceased, the assignment system has of necessity ended ; however, these convicts already assigned



were not called in, but allowed to continue in the service of their previous masters. As the period of probation—after which a convict, if well-behaved, becomes entitled to a ticket-of-leave, which authorises him to work for his own advantage—expires, so do assignees lose the benefit of convict-labour; and in a very few years there will cease to be any *convicts* working for private individuals in New South Wales.

Of free-labour, the principal introduction took place in the year 1841, when no less than 32,625 persons were landed in the colony. The result of this disproportionate and vast immigration was to reduce labour to little more than a nominal value, and to leave thousands totally without employment of any kind. It took nearly four years for the wants of the colony to absorb healthily this amount of labour; four times as many as were really required having thus been, in the space of a single year, cast upon the market of the colony.

Distress, want, and much misery and disappointment ensued, and had the effect of strongly biassing the friends of such parties as had emigrated to New South Wales against the colony. It was not, however, the fault of the place, but the want of system that had inconsiderately, in its supply of labour, so much out-stripped the demand, and brought to the colony so many persons whose services were not then in request.

Since that disastrous period, but little labour has been introduced into the colony; yet the increase of the flocks and herds are annually sufficient to give employment to many thousand hands; this has led to the consolidation



of flocks and herds, and the melting down of stock, as some kind of resource, when men could not be produced to tend them. In New South Wales, a flock of sheep can never be increased beyond one thousand without detriment to the stock; as more than that number would find it impossible, under charge of one shepherd, to procure sufficient sustenance. Cattle also suffer much from want of labour; they certainly range wild and at liberty over hill and plain, but stock-keepers, every few days, head them back and confine them to their own run. Consequently, if but one stock-keeper is kept to do the duty of three, he is obliged to restrain within a narrower limit the herd under his charge; thus limiting the feed they should have *ad libitum*. Liable as sheep are in Australia to the scab and foot-rot, want of labour to dress flocks so affected is the source of much loss. Yet there is a limit beyond which settlers and squatters cannot go in paying their servants, without injury and loss to themselves. A flock-master, although depasturing his stock on Crown lands, can, as already stated, scarcely afford to exceed £20 per annum for a single servant. Not more than two flocks can with justice be kept at a single station; and taking the maximum of a thousand to each flock, this gives an aggregate of two thousand. First then, to manage and tend these two thousand sheep, there are necessary two shepherds, and a hut-keeper, whose business it is to look after the hut, provide the shepherds' meals, sweep the yards, and change the hurdles. The wages of these men, at the present rate of £28 each, would amount to £84 per annum; their keep would cost about £14 each, this added to the former

would be £126; £10 at least might be set aside as the expense of a sheep-dresser, as occasion required; and one pound per hundred, would be the gross cost of sheering and packing the wool of the flocks. Then come tobacco and chemicals for sheep-dressing; the great expense of transporting the wool by land several hundred miles — by means of bullock drays; the £10 squatting license; and assessment has also to be added. The squatters' support must also be taken into consideration, and when all these are added together, it is but too apparent that such high wages cannot be paid, when wool seldom nets to the producer more than one shilling per pound, and fat wethers are worth but some seven shillings a head.

It is, therefore, for the advantage of all parties, servants and masters, that wages should at all times continue at that rate—say about £20 per annum—which would allow the employer a fair return for his capital, and remunerate the services of the servant sufficiently well. If wages are paid in excess, they soon encroach on the capital of the master, and end in his ruin, the embarrassment of the colony, and the injury of the servant himself.

It would be advantageous, if a class of pauper agricultural labourers and shepherds, with stout young wives, were introduced into the colony; the wives could act as hut-keepers in many instances, where there was help to move the hurdles. Settlers and squatters will never engage, if they can help it, men with families of children; the support of the useless mouths they do not like; so it is advisable that immigrants should have as few encum-

and would be much improved, if woman was more frequently there; but that is out of the question, if, on first arrival, they are surrounded by a number of young children; a master will avoid them, as he would a black snake, for he "does not wish to support, and bring up other people's children."

The shepherd's life is certainly a monotonous one. Soon after daylight he is up, and counts his flock out of their hurdles, taking charge of them from the hut-keeper, who sleeps in a watch-box close to the folds, and whose duty it is to guard them at night. The sheep head off to their accustomed run; the shepherd snatches a hasty breakfast, provides himself with a bottle of water, some meat and bread for his dinner, and then follows his flock, who feed right onward, till towards evening, when the shepherd turns them on their steps, and returns to the station. Day after day it is the same; an occasional visit from the blacks, or call of the master or superintendent, is all that diversifies its sameness.

Stock-keepers have a more exciting life, which they spend entirely on horseback, as it would be impossible to manage the wild cattle of Australia on foot. Two or three horses are generally allotted to one, and he thinks nothing of being several days together absent, in search of stray cattle, or making calls at the nearest stations. If overtaken by night in the bush, he makes himself comfortable, wrapped in his blanket, or, possum rug, at the foot of a gum tree; whilst he either tethers his horse, or permits him to wander about in hobbles, knowing that after a day's fatigue, he is not likely to stray far.

The agricultural portion of the population dwell either in the vicinity of the sea-coast, or neighbourhood of some town, where there is a demand for their produce. There is but little cultivation at sheep or cattle stations, as they are too distant from a market; their personal wants are all they provide for at such places.

A most useful class in New South Wales are bullock drivers. The internal carriage of the colony is carried on by means of drays, drawn by teams of six, eight, or ten bullocks, which sometimes come from a distance of four or five hundred miles in the interior, through a country over which no regular road exists. Old convicts generally make the best bullock drivers; their knowledge of the country and their rough habits seem to have formed them for this employment. The wages of bullock drivers are somewhat higher than that of other general servants. Horses are found, in general, to be unsuited to the unequal draughts met with in a new country, where few roads exist; they are therefore seldom used in transporting goods.

The produce of New South Wales is amazing; when it is considered what a small population it contains, and what a short period has elapsed since it was first inhabited, and settled by England. The golden fleece of Australia is the great staple of the country; tallow comes next; then cured provisions, hides, sheep skins, horns, cedar timber, Mimosa bark, gum, grain, live stock, oils and whalebone, the produce of the fisheries; and, of late, a few pipes of colonial wine. The sum total of the exports of the colony, for the present year, was expected to reach £2,000,000, including the district of Port Phillip,

which, in all financial statements, is still looked upon as an integral portion of New South Wales.

A considerable portion of the wool of the colony surpasses the produce of England's best South-downs ; and is fully equal to much of the finest kinds of Spanish and Saxon. The breed of sheep, common to the country, is small in size ; a kind of cross between South-downs and Saxon ; they are found better suited to the light pasturage than heavier stock. Leicesters have been introduced, but not found to answer so well ; the usual weight of fat sheep in the colony, is from fifty-five to sixty-five pounds each.

The cattle are crossed by some of the finest English and Dutch breeds ; and, on good runs, attain a very large size, sometimes weighing, when fat, ten and twelve hundred weight. This is particularly the case in the southern districts.

The value of cattle must always be low, when no more can be expected from them than the price of the hide and the tallow they produce. Several attempts have been made to establish extensive salting establishments in New South Wales. Much beef has been salted and shipped to England ; but from some reason or another, it has always become bad, before it reached its destination. Three years ago, many hundred barrels of Australian beef were sold in London for manure. The climate is considered too hot, to cure salt meat effectually ; but there is a large portion of beef and mutton hermetically preserved in tins. In 1841, and previous years, there was an immense export of cedar wood from the colony ; but the supply seems to have glutted the home market, and

checked this branch of trade; at present there is but little of it shipped to England.

Some of the Australian cedar is unsurpassed for quality, and many logs are met with, for beauty and closeness of grain, equal to the best mahogany. The chief cedar forests are found on the McLeay River, some distance to the northward of Sydney; there is some also in the neighbourhood of Port Macquarie and Moreton Bay. In the interior, it is likewise met with to the northward in vast forests. Many cedar trees are of a great size, not unfrequently eight and ten feet in diameter; the larger trees are generally hollow inside, and of no value.

The *Mimosa*, or as it is called in Australia, the "wattle," is found in great abundance in the interior. It seldom exceeds the height of sixteen or eighteen feet, and nine inches in diameter, so it is, properly speaking, rather a shrub than a tree. The bark possesses very great tanning properties, and large quantities are annually exported. Whilst the sap is up in the tree, in spring, the bark is easily stripped off, and the tree dies, rots away, and is consumed by the next fire that sweeps over that part of the country. This shrub exudes considerable quantities of gum towards the end of the spring, which is considered but little inferior in quality to gum Arabic, and has been sold in the English markets as high as £5 10s. per cwt. Many other trees, the box, and some kinds of *Eucalyptus*, also yield gum, but not so valuable as that of the *Mimosa*. Within the last few years, New South Wales has exported grain, particularly wheat, of a very fine quality; in the agricultural district of the Hunter's River, wheat, in the early part of the present



year, was worth about 3*s.* 6*d.* per bushel, and other kinds of grain were much cheaper.

Cattle or sheep are exported in small numbers to New Zealand, whilst a considerable number of horses are sent to India, where they are used in some instances for mounting the East India Company's cavalry. They are strong, active horses, capable of sustaining much more fatigue than the Arabs in use in the Peninsula of Hindoostan, and of carrying much greater weights.

The whalebone and oil exported from the colony is the produce of vessels owned by Sydney merchants, who, taking advantage of their favourable position, are annually extending the number of their ships engaged in this trade. Some of the Sydney merchants also possess whaling stations on the coast of New Zealand, and are, at times, tolerably successful in their take of oil.

Experiments are now largely making in the colony in the growth of the grape, and the produce of wine. A few sample pipes and hogsheads have been shipped for England in 1846 and 1847. The colonists expect, that before long, cotton and silk will be added to the list of their exports. The mulberry has so far succeeded well in the country; but it has not yet been tried by one of these severe and long continued droughts, that have at intervals afflicted the colony, ever since it was first established, nearly sixty years ago. For seven years, now, has the colony been unafflicted with one of these visitations of Providence, such as that in 1837, 1838, and 1839; stock of all kinds has quadrupled in the period, but if drought were to come again, it would be felt as severely as formerly, when as much as half a



sovereign had to be given for a feed for your horse, and water was sold by the measure.

An Australian drought is fearful. The always scanty supply of water is then wholly dried up; valleys and plains are divested of the sign of verdure; sheep and cattle die by hundreds of hunger and thirst; and the highways are blocked up with the putrifying carcasses of working bullocks, that have fallen dead in the attempt to drag their loads along. Stations that have been settled for years, and where there has always been water, are then deserted; while in the water-holes, the prized fluid dries up, and leaves nothing but parched mud; the hot air scars the limbs, and a lassitude steals over the body, whilst myriads of cicadas make the very air dizzy with their discordant buzz. Water, that essential necessary of life, is dried up even in the rivers that flow constantly in other years. Sydney, the capital, has only within the last four or five years had a good supply of water; and lately it has had the benefit of having it introduced by pipes into the houses. Previously, the water that supplied Sydney was brought by pipes from some marshes in the neighbourhood of Botany Bay; but a dam has been constructed of late years, across Cook's River, some twelve miles from the capital, and the much desired element is now conveyed from thence in pipes of a much larger size than the original ones, which communicated with the marshes.

The climate of New South Wales is somewhat similar to that of the Cape of Good Hope. The more northerly you proceed, and the nearer you approach the tropic, the more intense becomes the heat; in the

vicinity of Moreton Bay, this is at times excessive. The thermometer ranges during summer from eighty to one hundred in the shade; and in winter seldom falls below sixty. The seasons are, in Australia, exactly the reverse of what they are in Europe; December is the middle of their summer, June of their winter. The changes of the seasons are rapid in the extreme: spring and autumn are but of short continuance, summer and winter occupy much the larger portion of the year. The rains fall in winter, but seldom last long; but whilst they do it is a deluge, flooding low grounds, and creating large fissures in the earth where any hollows exist. Snow seldom, if ever, falls in New South Wales, except in the vicinity of a high range of mountains to the southward, known as the Snowy Mountains. Frost, when it does come, is extremely slight, and vanishes before the first rays of the sun, it being merely a slight hoar frost.

There are frequently severe hail storms, and the size of the globular particles that fall is sometimes very great, breaking windows and killing lambs. These hail storms are, in places, accompanied by hurricanes and whirlwinds of short duration, but of such severity, that in forest land, their course may be traced by the total destruction of all the timber that stood in their path. In summer, whirlwinds are frequent, and at times create a strange scene on extensive plains.

The writer was once crossing Goulburn Plains, when one of these whirlwinds occurred. Masses of dust, sand, and leaves, were elevated in columns, after the manner of a

water-spout, till they attained an altitude of several hundred feet, the base resting on the earth. Scores of these revolving columns covered the plain, careering in every direction, and crossing one another's path, but without mingling, until they swept away out of sight on the verge of the horizon. This is the more strange, as when these whirlwinds occur, the atmosphere is generally calm and still: each of the columns seems to be acted upon by separate and distinct eddies of wind. The colony, during summer, is subject to hot winds that blow from the interior. These are supposed, by the best informed, to be caused by the westerly winds, passing over vast deserts of sand that are believed to exist there; whilst they last, which they seldom do more than twelve hours, the atmosphere is like the breath of a furnace, the thermometer rising to  $110^{\circ}$  in the shade, and the very wood of doors and windows, shrivelling and cracking under its effects. The climate of the colony is, on the whole, very healthy: it being so extremely dry, that no miasma or unhealthy vapours can arise through the powerful reflection of the sun's rays. The nights, even in summer, are cool; heavy dews at night are frequent, and they much tend to promote vegetation.

A strange phenomena, never witnessed in England, is often seen in New South Wales—the visual deception caused by the *mirage*. Barren, sandy, desert plains and valleys appear at times to be covered with water; all, as far as the eye can reach, seems but one vast lake; yet, strong as is the illusion, in reality, not one drop of water exists around: it is liquid air, the

The writer was once standing in the neighbourhood of the light-house on Port Jackson's head, at mid-day; the sun was shining brightly, but a misty haze pervaded the atmosphere, and seemed to rest in density on the bosom of the ocean as he cast his eyes across the waves of the Pacific, while they slept in calmness and quiet. When he raised his eyes from the waters, there, elevated into the heavens, seemed suspended two ships under sail, with yards, masts, sails, hull, all beautifully displayed and developed. Astonishment was the first feeling; but a single inquiry of the man at the telegraph station produced a satisfactory explanation.

What he had seen was nothing but the reflection on the heavens of two ships, far out at sea. It was a visual deception, caused by the purity of the atmosphere, and was frequently witnessed. It was probable that the two ships, apparently in sight, were not less than one hundred miles out at sea, and far beyond the reach of human eye. Curiosity prompted the writer to put this to the test; he remained in the vicinity till towards the evening; a breeze sprung up, and exposed to view the bosom of the ocean, dissipating the mists that hung thereon: but not a sail was in sight—the blue waters alone were to be seen, unrelieved by a single object else.

Diseases of the chest and lungs, such as consumption and decline, are little known in the colony, owing to the purity and dryness of the atmosphere; rheumatism is unfrequent, from the same causes. Ophthalmia and dysentery are the prevailing diseases of the country; the

sun upon a light soil ; and the latter, in a great measure, arising from the use of bad water.

Society !—the word, when used in connection with New South Wales, is scarcely appropriate, nor should it be applied in its ordinary sense. What real society is there ? —what can there be in a place whose foundation rested on crime ? Literally none : unless that which is to be found in the bosom of one's own family, or in the circle of a very few select private friends. General society cannot be said to exist there, particularly in the shape of public balls, *réunions*, and concerts, when you may expect to find the person on your right hand, a murderer ; him on the left, a burglar. The theatre is even avoided by respectable families for this reason, as, in all probability, the box next that which you occupy may be tenanted by a family whose seniors have borne chains, or have graduated in the Paramatta convict factories.

The writer was once present on a *command night* : that is, when the Governor had specially intimated his intention of being present, and patronizing a particular piece ; this was an exciting occasion, as His Excellency but seldom, indeed, extended his countenance to the theatre. The Governor's box was fitted up specially for the occasion, the box next was occupied by the Commander-in-Chief and his family, whilst the adjoining one was tenanted by a wealthy linen-draper, his wife, and two marriageable daughters. The father of this family had, some ten years before, been convicted of a mail-coach robbery, and transported for life ; his wife had followed him to the colony, with the large produce of the robbery : set up the

drapery business on her own account, and got her husband assigned to her as *her convict servant*! A few years passed on; the convict obtained a ticket of leave, then a conditional pardon, allowing his freedom in the colony, but not permitting him to leave it. By degrees, the produce of the mail adventure was developed, and the convict draper became a wealthy man; making his appearance wherever money was the introducer. Except on such occasions as a command night, the Sydney Theatre is almost abandoned by the families of respectability, and surrendered to the occupation of young men, and the families of emancipists. The proprietor of the Sydney Theatre is a person of this class, as is also its manager, both of whom drive about in their gaudily decorated carriages.

● Originally, New South Wales was strictly a convict colony, no others being resident there, except such as were necessary to conduct the various government departments, and the military. When immigrants afterwards poured in, it was in small numbers, and most of them soon became contaminated by the example and connection of the convicts. So have matters progressed; and, as from year to year, free people settled in the colony, a large portion gave way to the demoralizing influence of the previously existing population; and this general demoralization, was largely promoted by the inequality of the sexes, being in the year 1828, as we have previously stated, in the proportion of rather better than three males to one female, and this too, after taking into consideration the children of both sexes.

In the year 1825, Dr. Lang states in a work published



in 1837, that the actual position of the white population of New South Wales was as follows :

Convicts in actual bondage,	. . .	14,200
„ holding tickets of leave,	. . .	2,078
„ free by servitude,	. . .	6,018
„ pardoned, conditionally or absolutely,	. . .	1,208
		<hr/> 23,504
Persons arrived free in the colony, in- cluding Government officials, soldiers, &c.,	. . . . .	3,150
		<hr/>
Balance in favour of convicts,	. . . . .	20,354

“There was doubtless,” adds the Reverend Doctor, “at that period, a native population of nearly 9000 souls ; but, it is evident that that population cannot be taken into account, in estimating the character of the materials of which society was originally composed in the colony of New South Wales.”

The Doctor, as a further exposition of the society of the colony, and its constitution and elements, proceeds to show by a table, that from 1828 to 1836 inclusive, 28,402 convicts, and but 10,284 immigrants were introduced. He then says, “If these 10,000 free emigrants had all been virtuous and industrious persons, I admit that their influence, in neutralizing and counteracting the natural influence of this immense accumulation of depravity, would have been exceedingly powerful ; for not only is it true in New South Wales, as it was in ancient Rome,



that "*ipse aspectus boni viri delectat*," ("the very sight of a virtuous man is refreshing,") but it is also true, that such a man uniformly sheds around him in the colony a moral influence, the result of which is incalculable, and which will not unfrequently make vice herself assume the aspect of virtue. Unfortunately for the colony, however, a considerable number of these 10,000 emigrants consisted of discharged soldiers and pensioners, who had been induced to commute their pensions for a free passage to the Australian Colonies, and most of whom proved good for nothing, dissipated, and worthless characters. A large proportion of the remainder consisted of families and individuals of the class of mechanics, who had been assisted in their emigration to New South Wales, by colonial bounties in the shape of passage money. Of this class, perhaps, as many as three-fifths have been virtuous and industrious persons; the rest being a dead weight on the colony, either from their indifferent moral character, or from the non-adaptation of their previous habits, to the wants of the colony."

The Doctor, in his pamphlet of 1837, then proceeds to further establish, on true grounds, the quality of society in New South Wales, by analyzing the character of the unmarried females, who were introduced in 1834 and 1835, for the purpose of *promoting* morality by equalizing the sexes.

"Of the free emigrants above-mentioned (10,284) 1,536 have been unmarried females, who had also been assisted in their emigration by bounties, in the shape of passage-money, from the revenues of the colony. But when we take into consideration the original constitution and

character of colonial society, and the strong temptations to which unprotected females must in such a society be exposed; when we take into consideration the improbability of inducing any considerable number of really virtuous females to emigrate to a distant country, and especially to a convict colony, *without natural protectors*—and when we take into consideration, also, the artifices of individuals in the shipping line, who found this species of export trade by no means unprofitable; it will not appear by any means surprising that the system of female emigration which has been pursued for several years past, under the direction of a board in London, professing to reform the Australian colonies, should, instead of producing any such reformation, have only added prodigiously to the previous amount of the immorality and criminality of the colony of New South Wales.” The Doctor then proceeds to give examples of the class of female immigrants introduced.

“The ‘David Scott,’ a female emigrant ship, chartered and loaded with merchandize on his own private account, by Mr. ———, agent of the London board, (who paid so much per head, about £20, for the passage of the females), arrived in Sydney about the beginning of November 1834. Sixty of the females who formed part of her cargo, were common prostitutes; forty of whom were so thoroughly vile, that my informant, a respectable free emigrant who arrived in the colony as a cabin-passenger by that vessel, assured me, ‘he did not believe they could be matched in England.’ The captain’s authority was accordingly set at defiance by the crew, and the vessel converted into a scene of the most abandoned

licentiousness during the whole voyage. The ship Layton, which had arrived some time previous, had been similarly encumbered; and the consequence was, that although a number of reputable families emigrated by both vessels, many were ruined for ever from the vile society into which they were thus thrown. The Canton, which arrived rather more than a year after the David Scott, was at first reported to have brought a better cargo; it was afterwards ascertained, however, that within three days after the females by that vessel were landed in Sydney, forty of them were regularly domiciled in houses of bad repute in the colonial capital."

Such is the description drawn of the free population of New South Wales up to thirteen years ago, by the pen of a gentleman who, from his long connection with, and residence in the colony, had peculiar facilities for knowing the truth. He does not think it worth while to take into consideration the children of the early inhabitants born in the colony, as he might well have conceived, that with such parents and such companions as they must necessarily have had, the amount of morality and religion they possessed, would be little indeed.

With convicts (emancipated) for their fathers, and convicts or prostitutes for mothers, little could be expected from the religion or morality of the rising generation, and but little has been realized; for on the face of the globe there does not exist such an accumulation of crime, of the most horrifying description, as in New South Wales. It is awful even to think of it; it pervades every class, reveals in most abodes, from the solitary cell or lonely

bush hut, up to the homes of the magnates of the land.

The parents of a great portion of the wealthy landholders, and stock proprietors, of New South Wales, were, on one side, at least, convicts; for in the early days of the country, the officials, or such free immigrants as arrived, could obtain in the colony few others, except female convicts, as wives.

The writer was once riding past a public-house in the neighbourhood of Sydney, when his attention was attracted to a respectably dressed old woman, in black, who lay stretched at full length near the cart track. Riding up to the public-house, he apprized the host of the fact, fearing the woman was in a fit. Turning back with the host, the senseless body was inspected, but the moment it caught the eye of the writer's companion, he said, "it was all right, it was only old Mrs. ———, drunk as usual, when she could get a chance." On explanation, it appeared that the old woman was the widow of an officer of rank, one of the earliest settlers, and one of the largest land grantees in the colony. She had been a convict, but a well-looking woman; so for want of a better, the officer had married her, and she bore him a numerous family, who were now amongst the wealthiest persons in the colony. The old woman, bordering on seventy, could never surrender her old habits, and she was constantly abandoning her home.

During his life, the husband had used every exertion to reclaim her, but in vain; after his death, her children, for their own reputation, endeavoured to keep her at home, but

without success; she would escape from "watch and ward;" make away with clothes and what she could steal; and be found at the end of a week sunk in intoxication, and nearly naked, amongst the brick-makers in the neighbourhood of Sydney, who seemed to be her wished-for associates. Again she would be conveyed home, but on the first opportunity, would the same scene be re-enacted; and whilst the children—magnates of the land, and proprietors of countless acres—were to be seen rolling about Sydney in their carriages, the parent would be stretched, overcome by inebriation, in the vicinity of a sulphury brick kiln on the Surrey Hills, one of the outlets of Sydney.

At all periods during the progress of the colony, and up to the present time, single men could obtain wives, on application, from amongst the female convicts, at the chief depôt in Paramatta.

The form is a strange one, and well worth relating. A man desiring a wife, and being unable to suit himself elsewhere, proceeds to the female factory at Paramatta, and presents himself to the matron and master of that institution. The certificate of a clergyman or magistrate is produced, setting forth that the applicant is a proper person to have a wife given to him, from the many under charge of the matron. The applicant is then introduced into a room of the building, whilst the matron proceeds to the first class department, that contains the best behaved of the female convicts. Notice is here given that a wife is required, and such as are willing to be married step forward, and are marshalled in batches into the presence of the would-be Benedict. On they pass, the man

speaking to individuals as they attract his attention, inquiring their age, capabilities, &c., till some one is met with who pleases his taste, and possesses the required perfections. The inquiries then become mutual; the lover wishes to know if the fair one has ever been married; the question is reiterated by the female, who also desires to learn how many head of cattle or sheep, or what land or houses, her lover is possessed of. Mutual explanations take place, and if satisfactory on both sides, the matron is acquainted with the fact, and a day named for the marriage. All the time, this lady is present, and has frequently to witness strange and ludicrous scenes; scores of females passing for review, between whose personal and other claims, the applicant balances his mind, sometimes leaving it to the matron to decide whom he shall take. When this knotty point is settled, the authorities are informed of the fact; the clergyman of the place publishes the banns, and if no impediment intervenes, on the appointed day, the parties are married; the woman leaving the factory, and returning to a state of freedom in the colony, during good conduct. These marriages are of frequent occurrence, thousands having thus obtained wives.

Many hundreds of the female convicts are assigned out as servants in private families, who prefer their labour, because it is obtained without payment. The incalculable injury thus entailed upon the morality of the rising generation is almost incredible. Coming from the very hot-bed of vice, from association with thousands of other females; transported for crimes of every description possible to conceive, and making the very extent of such, their



glory and boast, it is no wonder that these female convict servants are deeply initiated in all the mysteries of human depravity. The young mind is pliable, open to impression, and readily imbibes the effects of the language and conduct of those around. The chamber of female youth, as well as that of the other sex, is always open of necessity to servants, and there, in the very inmost recesses of home, vice is inculcated, and taught, until desire and ability produce practice. Young, tender, fair and beautiful, the daughters of Australia present a choice ground, in which might be implanted the principles of morality and religion, but such alas ! is not their lot ; before childhood dawns into maturer age and womanhood, the book of vice and sin stands open before them, with all its thoughts, longings, and desires revealed. The impassioned feelings of woman, born beneath the bright and sunny skies of southern climes, need but little to excite them ; and if the body does not soon become as polluted as the mind, want of opportunity, in most cases, is the only cause.

Not only does the influence of the demoralizing association with convicts extend itself over the younger branches of families, but mothers feel its effects ; and vice loses all its horrors, when habit renders it familiar. This has been frightfully proved in many instances in Australia. In James's "Australia," there is a case mentioned that occurred in New South Wales of such enormity, that the very blood of the reader almost freezes as it is perused. A settler of family, who resided in the interior of the colony, had occasion to absent himself for a long period—more than a year—from home. On returning, it was too apparent



his lady had not been faithful during his absence ; her condition proved it, she was near the time of confinement. In vain the infuriated husband demanded the name of the person who had wrought his disgrace,—but without avail,—until the wife came to be delivered ; then in the extremity of illness, the lamentable fact was revealed, that the woman's own son, and the child of her present husband, was the author of the being of her present infant. The fact was so horrible, that it was not at first credited, but the son—a mere boy—afterwards admitted the fact, that his own mother had seduced and cohabited with him in his father's absence. The moral reader may doubt this appalling extent of crime ; but the writer is aware beyond doubt of three similar cases, in one of which the boy was but thirteen years of age, and the mother beyond forty. Two of these cases were not those of persons who had been convicts, but of people who had come free to the colony, were well informed, yet had under the influence of surrounding vice sunk into its lowest depths. Passing from the fearful depravity of the sexes, the writer will relate an instance of the effects of example on a boy, who had been but a short time in the colony.

In 1841, a druggist of the name of Cummins, King Street, Sydney, engaged a lad of some thirteen years of age to take messages, and assist in his shop, under a shopman. On some occasion the boy committed an offence, which led to his master sending for the police, and the lad was conveyed to Bridewell. In the morning Mr. Cummins appeared against the youth, who had been locked up all night, amongst lads and men—"the vagabonds of

merely reprimanded and directed to return to his service. Evening came, a man servant who acted as cook entered the kitchen, and found the lad leaning over the fire, whilst some white substance was observed on the top of the kettle boiling for tea. The cook inquired what the lad had been doing. "Nothing!" replied he. "But what was the white substance on the kettle?" "It was merely some lime," that he had been throwing in the fire. The explanation was considered unsatisfactory, as it was but too apparent that something had been put into the kettle; for the lid was clean, but the substance was all round the top of the kettle. The master was made aware of the circumstance, and as the boy would give no satisfactory account, the water was laid aside, and the white powder preserved for analization. Curiosity prompted this course, suspicion of the real fact never arose, until experiments proved, that there was arsenic enough in the kettle to destroy one hundred lives. Revenge had actuated the lad; and to gratify it, he was ready to sacrifice the lives, not only of his master, the shopman, and cook, but of three other individuals, who would have partaken of the water when mixed for tea. The boy was afterwards tried, but escaped the full consequences of his crime, owing to his tender age.

Even on the military force, the effects of association with convicts are great; and an immense proportion of the men belonging to regiments stationed in the colony are convicted, whilst there, of various crimes.

To speak of the habits and acts of many of the emancipists of wealth, would be to expose and lay bare a volume of crime almost beyond conception. A few instances will suffice.

In Sydney there resided a mercantile man, whose wealth was large and whose years were many. Honour had not always directed his steps; the fate of the convict, the doom of the felon had been his. But circumstances had, before the completion of his sentence, given him the opportunity of amassing wealth, and it was skilfully embraced. First, a conditional pardon, and then a complete one, was obtained by the proper application of this wealth, and the former convict became the Sydney merchant. Habits did not change with plenitude of means. A female of some wealth, but had connections, became the companion, if not wife, of this man. She had previous to this connexion had a child by a former husband, who on coming of age, would become possessed in its own right of several grants of land, in and about Sydney, then of little value. This child was but an infant or little more, when its mother first connected herself with the convict merchant. Years passed on, and she had borne other children, but none survived the lapse of a few months; at length death severed the tie, and the woman passed to her "long account" leaving her first child, now a girl of about fourteen, behind her, under the guardianship of her last husband. The bereaved widower fulfilled this duty, by marrying the child of the very woman he had so long lived with—for the double purpose of gratifying lust and avarice, as the lands of the child had become valuable. After a few months he grew tired of his young wife, and resolved to send her to England to *complete her education*.

To England she came, and was placed by an agent in

until the mandate of the *husband* recalled the *wife* to his embraces. She left school and embarked for Sydney, in charge of the commander of a vessel accustomed to the colonial trade, and well acquainted with the old man, who had committed his wife to the captain's charge. The vessel sailed—many passengers were on board—the young wife was alone; her *education had been finished*, and she became the object of much attention to a young man, who was proceeding to the office of a Sydney merchant, by whose correspondents he had been engaged in England. Week after week passed on, and nothing remarkable occurred to the captain's "charge." The vessel was within the tropics, rolling heavily on the long swells of the ocean, almost like a log on the waters, when, as the commander took his seat at the breakfast table one morning, he observed something unusual in the countenances of his guests. Winks and smiles were shared in; some "momentous question" seemed to pervade the assembly of passengers.

After a time, the Captain's curiosity was satisfied. One morning, shortly after daylight, as one of the passengers was issuing from his cabin, he perceived the head of Mr. C—— projecting from out the cabin of the young married lady; but on seeing that the "coast was not clear," the body did not show itself, and the head was withdrawn. Several of the other passengers were apprized of the discovery, and a strict watch had been since kept on the cabin-door, the occupants being made aware of the fact, by coughing and loud conversation.

The cuddy, or general cabin, was across the vessel, in the front part of the poop. A passage ran from the

centre to the stern cabins, whilst on either side of the passage were small state rooms, one of which was occupied by the lady, another by her admirer; so that as long as the cuddy was occupied, no person could pass from one to another without being seen.

Mr. C—— did not appear—his place at the table was vacant; and the steward received orders to summon him to the morning meal. But in his cabin he was not to be found, neither on deck was he; in vain the servants, unaware of the real facts of the case, searched the ship, till an alarm was raised that he must have fallen overboard. Loud were the pretended lamentations in the cuddy, and freely was the character of the missing one discussed; at length the patience of the fair one and her lover were exhausted, and the youth himself soon emerged from his place of concealment. The captain of course called him to an account, and took steps to prevent a recurrence of a similar scandal; whilst the lady absented herself, for the rest of the voyage, from the general table and cuddy.

On the ship's arrival in Sydney, the circumstances soon reached the ears of the old gentleman, to whose society his wife refused to return; an action for crim. con. was the resort of the convict merchant, but it was never brought to an issue; the conduct of that individual precluded the possibility of his appearing as plaintiff in court; the young victim of his desires had made known the facts of his fulfilment of her mother's trust, and for his own sake an arrangement was effected, the lovers departing for Van Dieman's Land to reside

there, the moral husband settling a handsome annuity on his wife.

Constant familiarity with crime in every possible shape and way, has its effects on the higher classes of individuals in New South Wales, who think it a disgrace to associate with the emancipists in the privacy of home, yet practice but too many of their crimes. Two remarkable instances of delinquency, on the part of officials, occupying places of high trust, might be adduced in illustration of this ; and these cases will readily occur to the recollection of those who are at all acquainted with the state of society in Sydney, about the year 1842. One of these individuals terminated his career by an act of suicide.

The many and disastrous failures that took place in 1842, 1843, and 1844, amongst the higher classes of the population of New South Wales, tended most materially to affect the moral tone of society.

Never, perhaps, was there known such a total and complete state of bankruptcy, as that of the mercantile and business men of the colony during the before-mentioned years ; and thus pride of credit, of name, and character, all but passed away. True, the bankruptcy of that period was so general, that it might be called national. A combination of circumstances led to it ; but the amount of fraud and deception was vast indeed ; and men failed to-day, to appear in their carriages in a few months, when the process of "whitewashing" was completed.

This vast and general demoralization in mercantile character was much increased by a new Insolvent Act,



introduced by Sir George Gipps, and passed whilst the old Crown nominee legislature existed. It really appeared as if Sir George, in a fit of contrition for the serious mischief caused by his lavish encouragement of land speculation, had framed the bill as a means of enabling the unfortunate losers to get rid of their difficulties as quickly as possible. In truth, the process was a short one. When a man felt disposed to rid himself of his debts without payment, he first, after a prescribed form, got a statement of his affairs drawn out: this he took to a "Commissioner," and swore to its correctness, at once obtaining a protection from arrest; or, if in custody, his immediate discharge. The estate of the insolvent then became vested in the Court, until a trustee or trustees were appointed by the creditors in meeting assembled. The progress of winding up the estate and dividing the assets progressed rapidly, as the trustees under the Act were liable to attachment, unless they rendered an account within a stated period, which the Supreme Court alone had power to extend. After a certain number of meetings, and such examinations as the creditors thought necessary, the insolvent advertised in the Government Gazette, and public papers, his intention to apply on a certain day for his certificate, which, unless strongly opposed before the Commissioner, was granted with little formality. The only real proviso in the Act, for the protection of creditors, is one by which it is made a misdemeanour for an insolvent to conceal any portion of his property or assets. As regards colonial creditors, they may obtain a semblance of justice; but English and foreign creditors receive but small grace, and a



No doubt, very many conscientious men were compelled at various periods, particularly those before mentioned, to have recourse to this Insolvent Act; but as a measure of commercial prudence or legislative wisdom, the Act is much to be questioned, through the facility it gives dishonest individuals in getting rid of their debts; and more especially is New South Wales unfit to be the seat of the working of such an Act, as in that colony the foundation of all society commenced on crime.

It is certainly strange for a newly-arrived person in the colony to enter a road-side inn in the neighbourhood of Sydney, or even in the town itself, and hear chaunted forth by a dark-featured man, whose visage seems parched up and dry as a chip, a song, the subject of which is the sufferings, hardships, and hair-breadth escapes of the singer, whilst undergoing the sentence which brought him to the colony. These songs are constantly heard all over the colony, in second-rate places of entertainment; they are drawled out in a peculiar tone, with little attempt at air or variation, and still less at poetical ability. They are mere recitatives of the adventures, crimes, and punishments of the relators, when undergoing punishment in the coal mines, in a road-gang, or penal settlements. The appearance of a convict of the lower class, or one that has been such, is unmistakeable. A peculiarity of visage, different from all other men, is recognizable; whilst their countenances are of a dark brown hue, parched and dried up, muscles and all, as if they had been baked in one mass. In no one's hearing are these beings ashamed to indulge in their songs; it is not conceived any disgrace, and little do they care, if their masters hear details, that at

times freeze the blood with horror, and shock the listener.

Crime seems, in New South Wales, to bear no disgrace to the perpetrator; detection is all that is feared—and if by possibility that is avoided, then all is right; moral punishment is unknown. And yet the inhabitants themselves do not seem generally aware of this fact; their perception appears to be blunted by constant familiarity with vice.

A great proportion of the men of large means in the colony as we have before stated, have been convicts, or are the children of such; and there have been individual instances amongst this class of persons of vast wealth.

Samuel Terry, who died about ten years since, in Sydney, worth upwards of half a million sterling, had been a convict, and was, during residence in the country, a second time convicted of felony. A great part of his wealth was accumulated by grog selling, taking allotments of land, cattle, sheep, or anything, as the case might be, in payment, when hard cash was not to be obtained.

Some few weeks previous to this man's death, a young lad in his employment stole an iron pot full of gold and silver, that the millionaire had concealed in some part of his house. Suspicion, at first, did not alight upon the boy; but after a time he had the folly to bore holes through several old coins of value, that had been in the pot, and to use them as buttons to his waistcoat. The fact was made known to Terry, who identified the coins. The boy was tried, and, the laws being severe, was found guilty and sentenced to death; the pot and its contents remaining,

disposition, the loss being large was much felt by Terry, who having engaged the exertions of the Sydney gaoler in his favour, ultimately succeeded, with the assistance of the latter, in obtaining from the lad a revelation of the fact, of where the money lay hid. This was wrested from the boy under a distinct promise of a commutation of his sentence; but once the hiding-place, which was in Terry's own garden, was discovered, and the principal portion of the money recovered, the promise was lost sight of; no representation in favour of the lad was made, and in fulfilment of his sentence, he suffered death on the gallows. It was said that the usurer much regretted this, and that it had a severe effect on his health; but it would seem that conscience awoke too late.

At the present time, or at least in 1845, there still lived a man of vast wealth in Sydney, who had been amongst the earlier convicts transported to New South Wales. The life of this man, if properly known, would have afforded food for tales, of which it might be well said that "truth is sometimes stranger than fiction." He had been originally sentenced to death in England, but this was commuted to transportation for life. Twice again, in the lapse of ten years, was this man sentenced to make reparation for his crimes by death on the gallows; but the eye of Providence seemed to watch over him, and he was spared. But on one of these occasions, as a salutary warning, the commutation was only made known to him when on the gallows, and about to be launched from the drop. Chequered indeed was the life of Billy ——. At one time, an outlaw in the bush hunted for his life; at another, one of an iron-gang, working in chains

that galled the flesh and eat into the bones. Yet, after all, years passed on; this man acquired vast wealth—perhaps second only to that of Terry—and became one of the directors of a principal bank in Sydney, sitting at the board with persons inferior to none in the colony. Change of circumstances and position did not alter the principles of Billy ——. Wealth extended his means of gratification; and few have dwelt long in Sydney who have not heard much of the bad propensities of this man. In one instance, to gratify his passions, untamed by age, an entire family was sacrificed—mother and two daughters: the facts are too revolting for detail. Not only could innumerable cases of vice and crime be adduced, from amongst these emancipists who are wealthy, but even in the higher ranks of those who went free to the country. Vice appears to become inoculated in every class of people, by contact with the convict population, freed or bond. Immorality is practised by officials and merchants unblushingly, in the open day, and the great number of natural children bear witness to the fact.

Of late years, the large importations of immigrants have put some check upon this; but yet the effrontery with which vice and crime are exhibited and boasted of—no man considering it a disgrace to have been a convict—must, and does tend to lessen detestation of it, and promote its commission. It is but too true, that emigrant ships, as at present managed, are often schools of vice: each should not only have a surgeon-superintendent, but at least two schoolmasters with authority over old and young; these men might be obtained for a small remuneration, and a free passage. The sexes also should, in every case, unless

married, be kept distinct; and as little association as possible between the females and seamen permitted. "A few black sheep will often injure an entire flock," so a very few bad characters are sufficient, materially to affect the conduct and principles of emigrants, more especially on board a confined ship, where so much familiarity must of necessity exist. It might be perfectly safe to assert, that no one emigrant ship ever arrived in Sydney, of which one fifth or one sixth of the female passengers did not turn out badly within two months after arrival; and besides these, many of the others must have had the seeds of vice sown in them on board. Of course, this result may in some measure be traced to the improper choice of emigrants or the want of classification of these at home; but still more is attributable to want of proper control and superintendence on board.

It appears, from a declaration made by Lord Grey in the House of Commons in 1847, that the morality and virtue of New South Wales is to be improved by an annual exportation thither, of a large number of persons who have been convicted of felony at home, but have undergone a preparatory incarceration in model prisons there. On arrival in the colony, they are to be cast loose, undiscernible from free emigrants; the only proviso being, that they are not to leave the colony.

Perhaps no more effectual mode could be adopted, not only of diverting these persons from their good intentions, and their determination to reform,—if they have formed such—than sending them to a country, where such a large mass of liberated convicts already exist, and where crime is positively not regarded as a disgrace.

Many of the freed convicts seem to consider the colony as properly their own; from its having been originally intended for them, and look upon all free persons as intruders. It is not only unfair to those men, who have in their preparatory imprisonment conducted themselves well, to submit them to such connection and temptations as New South Wales offers for a relapse into crime; but it is much more unjust to the immigrant population, to cast among them persons still more than half felons, and with the chain of slavery still confining them to the precincts of the country, yet with no distinguishing mark that they may be known by, to those who are about to engage their services. *Felony* has already created a society in New South Wales, unequalled for crime and vice in the world; and it was hoped, that when transportation thither ceased, the extensive importation of emigrants would overpower by numbers that vice existing amongst the population, demoralized by constant connection with felons; but that hope must cease to be entertained, when it is known, that a large number of half-reclaimed felons, are annually to be let loose on the country, to perpetuate and keep alive those evils that it was expected might be partially suppressed, if not annihilated.

When the writer first arrived in New South Wales in 1839, curiosity led him to visit the Supreme Court then sitting for the trial of prisoners. The courts were held in a large building in the town, on the borders of Hyde Park, in Elizabeth Street. The civil business of the term had been disposed of, and in both courts, judges and jurors were trying criminal cases. The late Chief-Justice presided at the trial of the prisoners.



was in the act of assuming the black cap. Two men stood in the dock, their countenances worn into deep furrows by crime and suffering; their dress denoted them to be convicts; not a muscle of their faces—not a passing thrill or start—told of any consciousness of the awful position in which they were placed. Calmly and sternly their eyes were bent on Sir James Dowling, as he fixed the emblem of death on his brow, but not a motion disturbed their lips. The officer of the court arose, and in the usual form demanded, if they had any cause to show why sentence of death should not be passed upon them. A pause—"no!" they knew none; the crime was perpetrated to earn death, it was better to die than continue to live in an iron-gang. Slowly, when a moment had elapsed, and the criminals ceased to speak, the tones of the judge's voice fell upon the ear; the appalling fact of men murdering their fellow-creature, with no malice or hatred against him, for the purpose of provoking death by the law, was dwelt on; and in accents of horror the humane judge invoked attention to the depth of degradation that a course of vice brought on its followers, when death itself was courted in crime, the burthen of life becoming intolerable. Still, and silent, remained all hearers; one voice alone rose in solemn tones, and in measured terms issued the mandate of death, without a shadow of hope. The voice ceased; a hand touched either criminal on the shoulder, and with a glance at the spectators, they stepped down into the bottom of the dock, and were removed from the court.

The two condemned men, it appeared, were working on the roads in an iron-gang, loaded with chains; and, in consequence of the severity of the punishment, had actually,



without any provocation, murdered a comrade, in order that they might be brought down to Sydney, tried and condemned.

The scene was afflicting to one unaccustomed to it ; it exhibited human nature sunk low indeed ; so passing into the other court which adjoined, a change was sought as a relief to the mind. Four men stood on the floor of the court ; there was no dock, but the criminals were guarded on either side by police with loaded pieces. Varied was the dress of the accused, but coarse, hard, and harsh, were the countenances of all, and boldly did they glance round at the officers and spectators. A puisne judge presided, and counsel was stating the case ; a few words sufficed, the charge was again murder and robbery. It was too much ; two human beings were more than sufficient to hear sentenced in one day ; so quitting the court, the writer turned towards town. A watch-house stood close by the court-houses in Elizabeth Street ; in front of it, near the writer's path, a crowd of some dozen people was collected, mostly policemen. Prompted by curiosity, the author approached the spot, and there saw lying, before the front of the building in the open air, the body of a man stretched on its back ; a single glance was sufficient to show that murder had been here again perpetrated, in its most frightful shape. The body was decently clad, better than the general garb of the labouring class ; several new articles were on the person or about it, and were thus exposed with the body, to lead to identification. The coat and waistcoat were much torn, apparently in a struggle for life ; and on the neck were three large deep gashes, any one of which

would have caused death, for the head was nearly severed from the body. The sight was indeed frightful, sickening,—and so appalling, that the unused spectator gazed again and again, in a species of fascination, doubting the reality of the vision itself.

The body had been found in a small bay, between the Government Gardens and Woolloomooloo; it was exposed for identification, as there was no question, from the nature of the wounds, that murder had been committed. It was supposed that the victim had just come down the country, from the new clothes on him; and that, having received a large sum of money, he had been decoyed to the edge of the bay, and murdered for it. The body was not recognized, nor was the murderer brought to justice whilst the writer remained in the country.

At the same assizes where the author witnessed the foregoing scenes, no less than twenty-nine men received sentence of death, of which the greater proportion were executed. When an execution took place in Sydney, previously to 1841, the victims were always disposed of on a Tuesday morning, soon after daylight, within the gaol wall, which stood in the principal thoroughfare, George Street. The interior of the gaol was overlooked from other streets, and spectators were besides admitted within; but there was no necessity to take any trouble to see the unfortunate wretches. The writer accidentally passed along George Street, one Tuesday morning, early, and as he raised his eyes towards the gaol, a considerable part of the gallows appeared above the walls, and he beheld the upper portions of six bodies, dressed in white, with caps drawn over the faces, suspended in the air; four

of the culprits, it appeared, were Roman Catholics, from the black cross figuring on the white dresses they wore.

Some years ago, a band of escaped convicts, who had taken to the Bush, determined to make an attempt to escape overland to South Australia, then but a short time settled. The route was, at that period, all but unexplored—only two or three strong parties having made the journey—but being well armed and mounted with the plunder of several stations, the attempt was resolved on. The party, which consisted of some ten or twelve individuals, proceeded a good distance, but becoming short of provisions, and dubious of the correctness of the course they were taking, some of the number proposed returning, and running their chance in the New South Wales' Bush. Against this the chief of the band and one other man protested, but in vain; the rest of the convicts resolved to retrace their steps the following day, and no resource was left for the dissentients, but to share the fate of their companions. That night, with their horses tethered near at hand, all the party retired to rest under the broad canopy of heaven, sheltered by a few forest gums. Revenge and anger were in the heart of the leader; he feared, on his return to the colony, being betrayed by some of his comrades into the hands of justice; so, when all others slept, he roused the other individual who was opposed to their return, and passing with him into the recesses of the forest, a plan was laid to slaughter, as they slept, the remainder of the band, the better to guard their own safety. It was soon carried into effect: the whole of their companions were killed with the tomahawk, in succession, and the two murderers

Some time passed away before they were taken by a party of mounted police, in the Bush, in arms; but the severe penal law, that punished this latter offence with death, having been repealed, the punishment accorded, was transportation to the penal settlement of Norfolk Island. The second party to the commission of the wholesale murder, conceiving that he should receive a mitigation of his sentence, disclosed the awful crime. At first it was not credited; but as he proposed to conduct a body of police to the scene of murder, a commutation of his sentence was promised, if his account proved true, and the chief of the band and proposer of the crime should be found guilty.

Under charge of a strong escort, the wretch actually conducted the police to the spot, and there, half devoured by the native dogs, were found the bones of many men, and the remnants of clothes, arms, &c. This was convincing, and the party, with their prisoner, returned towards Sydney. Tempted by some opportunity of escape, the wretched informer and participator in the murder essayed it, but was shot in the attempt. In consequence of his death, it became impossible to bring to trial the chief offender; so he escaped with his life, and was sent to Norfolk Island, to work in chains. Some time afterwards, he was killed in an attempted mutiny at that place, in which he was a ringleader.

A yet more appalling discovery of wholesale crime took place in 1843, in the Goulburn district of New South Wales. In that year, at the assizes or Circuit Court, held in Berrima, a man was tried, found guilty of murder, and sentenced to death. When the hour of execution

approached, and all hope of commutation of punishment had passed away; the criminal made a confession, admitting the justice of the sentence, but boasted that, in the course of his career, since landing in the country as a convict, he had actually committed ten murders; giving the names of his victims, and the particulars of the crimes, besides the one for which he had been convicted and sentenced. This awful detail of crime, with its long impunity, was only such as could occur in a country like New South Wales.

The greater part of the murders had been perpetrated in connection with robberies; and one case of the destruction of a family was most appalling. This family numbered three individuals:—a father and mother past the prime of life, and a daughter, arrived at womanhood. They resided on a farm of their own, in the interior, some few miles from any other habitation. The farm had been originally granted to the father of the family, and he had, in the course of years, accumulated both stock and money. He had often spoken of visiting England, the home of his early youth, with his family; and it would seem that this idea led to the death of himself, wife, and child. The wholesale murderer—an Irishman, it would appear—had taken service with this family as a farm labourer; and in consequence of the oft-repeated intention of the family to visit England, he conceived the idea of destroying them, and possessing himself of the farm and stock. The old man was accordingly followed on one occasion into the Bush, a short distance from his house, and killed by the blow of an axe. The wife was enticed a few yards from her abode also, and then

terror, fell an easy victim to the assassin. Neither youth, beauty, nor her sex, could save her from being added to the number of the victims. Then came the disposal of the bodies. A pile of dry wood was drawn together, and on this were placed the murdered victims, to be consumed ; and the demon, in his after-confession, gloated over the brilliancy of the flames they created. The appalling scene was represented by him to have been one of the most satisfactory and gratifying periods of his life ; and as the murderer described it, his eyes were said to flash and dilate at the recollection of the deed—not remembered in remorse and regret—but with delight and joy.

But strange as it may appear, after such an act, the perpetrator remained, and inhabited the farm for a long period, until he was compelled to vacate it, having been sought out by the police for the commission of some other offence. The clothes and all the immediate goods of the victims having been first buried, the murderer represented to the neighbours, when they chanced to call, that the family had taken advantage of some friend proceeding down the country with his teams and drays, and carried into execution their long-expressed intention of visiting England : leaving him in charge of the concerns until they would return, which they projected to do within two years. Thus was any suspicion, if entertained, lulled ; and the murdered victims were supposed to be on their way across the wide ocean, while their bodies had passed into ashes in the woods of Australia. To proceed further with relations of crimes that human nature revolts at, would be needlessly to distress the reader.



For the extent of its population, there is no place, even in England, so well supplied with banking facilities, as New South Wales. The head-quarters of all these are in Sydney, but branches are extended to the chief towns of the Colony. At present there are five Banking Companies in Sydney; previously to 1842 there were two more, viz., the "Bank of Australia," and the "Sydney Bank." The present concerns are "The Bank of New South Wales," "The Australasian Bank," "The Commercial Bank," "The Union Bank of Australia, and "The Royal Bank."

Three of these companies are chiefly composed of English proprietors, with a Board of Directors in London to control their affairs; the others are local concerns, with less capital than their competitors. Previous to 1842, the facilities for discount and speculation, offered by all these companies were very great, and their apparent profits for a few years very large. But into some banks—removed from the control of an English Board of Directors—corruption and wholesale fraud soon crept; the contamination of society made itself felt even in the bank parlours. Directors, managers, and in some cases chief clerks helped themselves *ad libitum*, it is believed by many, to the funds entrusted to their charge. The acceptances of persons acting as directors met with discount to any amount, without reference to their real means; and in some cases even this cloak of discounting was not thrown over the matter, but the parties overdrew their accounts in a wholesale manner, having standing balances of many thousand pounds against them in the books of the banks,



security of their acceptances, and in many cases, interest even, except at the lowest rate, was not charged.

The inevitable consequence of a reckless system, was to bring about the stoppage of one extensive concern—"the Bank of Australia." This company possessed a nominal capital approaching half a million; yet by bad management, and permitting some of the officials connected with it to use the funds *ad libitum*, it had to stop payment, and wind up its affairs. The public were ultimately paid in full, but very nearly the entire property of the shareholders was sacrificed. "The Sydney Bank" was a concern in existence but a very short period—at the utmost three years; its capital was limited, and its connection local; yet one of the managers, with the aid of a confidential clerk, it was asserted, had been falsifying the returns of the bank, using the money for their own purposes, and assisting a few others to do the same, by permitting their accounts to be overdrawn. When the discovery of these proceedings took place, an attempt was made to prosecute the confederates, each of whom had opened an account for themselves, and overdrawn by many thousands their assets. Perjury was the offence charged, to have been committed, in falsifying the returns, which had to be made on oath at certain periods; but the prosecution fell to the ground, and, as usual, the chief offenders escaped unscathed.

It was a strange circumstance, with regard to the disclosures in the Sydney Bank affair, that a Magistrate, who had not long been in the colony, should be one of those who had considerably overdrawn an account, which

representation was, at the time, made to the Governor, of the fact, and through this a compromise was effected with the official, by which he devoted a portion of his salary to the liquidation of the debt. In the case of the Sydney Bank, the public did not suffer ; the shareholders were again the victims, the directors, however, were not so culpable as those of the Bank of Australia ; they had not recklessly overdrawn their accounts ; the two confederates before mentioned, were the real offenders, who deceived the confidence alike of the directors and proprietors, to help themselves and assist their friends. The shock of these two Bank failures led the shareholders, in other concerns, to meet and press inquiry into the state of their affairs.

The system of fraud, deceit and favouritism, had extended itself very generally. We must, however, except the Royal Bank, then but just founded under the auspices of Mr. Boyd,—a man of large capital and influential London connections. In the Commercial Bank particularly, it was found that the habit prevailed, of permitting directors to overdraw their accounts largely, without security ; and it seemed to have suffered from these proceedings more than any of the remaining solvent banks. The discovery and stoppage of this fraudulent system of extended accommodation had the effect of bringing to the ground many who were depending on it, and in no little measure tended to promote the monetary crisis of the period. But the exposure of these frauds has since led to an improved system of management, and the New South Wales' banks are at present creditable institu-

shareholders should, from time to time, make good inquiry, and keep a close watch on the persons they entrust with the control of their funds ; strictness and vigilance in such matters are everywhere essential, but nowhere more so than in a country like New South Wales.

The rate of interest for money in the colony is high : eight to ten per cent at the lowest, even in the very best times ; this is a great incubus on the country, much the greater portion of the capital on which this interest is paid belonging to British capitalists, who thus draw annually a vast sum in the shape of interest from the place, which is so much dead loss, because being realised, and passing from the colony, it ceases to form a portion of the circulating medium. When the balance of trade, in the shape of imports, was against the colony, this was more severely felt, because, either money must be sent to pay interest, or it ceased to be paid at all ; at present the exports largely exceeding the imports in amount, a portion if not the entire of the interest on foreign capital, may be paid in produce. As a matter of business and calculation, it is impossible for any man, paying high wages and with borrowed capital, on which ten per cent is paid, to succeed as a producer of wool and tallow. Mercantile and trade profits may and do afford it ; but pastoral pursuits, at such a distance from a market, suffering under an astounding combination of high wages, freights, commission, charges, and above all land carriage, never can honestly pay ten per cent interest on borrowed capital, and yield a fair return to the man who places himself in such a false position. It is calculated, that no less a sum than two hundred and forty

South Wales, in the shape of interest on borrowed capital alone (British,) and this, after setting down the rate of interest at eight only per cent. It is a notorious fact, that in 1843 and 1844, from fifteen to twenty per cent was commonly demanded and paid, for loans, even for lengthened periods ; how much, therefore, would the aggregate sum in the shape of interest be increased, if the computation was made at any such rate as was then paid. Until the price of money in New South Wales is materially reduced, the legitimate trade of the banker is only of service in the immediate necessities of general business, as a medium for remittances and exchange, and of advances on produce consigned to Britain ; stock or land cannot at the present afford to pay bankers' profits.

The present Sydney Banks are banks of issue, but under a local act, that issue is founded on a metallic currency ; yet, there is little gold to be met with in the colony—it is very scarce—and notes seem to be as acceptable to the people ; so it is seldom required to pay off notes. Returns at stated periods have to be made out, and proved on oath, as to the position of the various banks ; if these returns which are published by the Executive be correct, and not garbled and deceptive, the true state of any bank, is at once laid open ; but as in 1842 this was not always the case : false oaths may be sworn, or accounts made up in such a way, as to deceive the most practiced eye, when manager, directors, and clerks, combine to do so. As yet, none of the banks existing in New South Wales in 1842, have fully recovered from the effects of the crisis of that period ; most of them having still on their hands

## CHAPTER V.

PUNISHMENT OF CONVICTS IN NEW SOUTH WALES AND THE PENAL  
SETTLEMENTS—ABORIGINES—CONCLUSION AND REMARKS.

AMONGST the middle and lower classes in Great Britain and Ireland, there prevails a strange want of knowledge as to the punishment of transportation, and the actual position of convicts in New South Wales. Many instances have occurred, from time to time, of persons committing offences for the purpose of being transported; but if they really knew the description of punishment they were submitting themselves to, death would itself be preferred to such a contingency as the fate of a felon in Australia. The false ideas entertained by persons residing at home, with regard to the convict's life, have been mainly called into existence, and promoted, by a relation of the prosperity and wealth of some individuals who have been felons. The success of assigned convicts has also been made a theme of highly coloured description. The truth is, that when good luck fell to the lot of any one, it arose through being assigned to a kind good master, or by being transferred to the service of a wife or child, who followed the convict in exile. The press and individuals, were willing

without qualifying the relation—with a description of the appalling sufferings that many of these persons, who had acquired wealth, underwent before they succeeded.

The galling of the leg-irons—piercing the flesh and crushing the bone; the agony and fatigue of working under a burning sun—the thermometer standing at  $115^{\circ}$ —chained and coupled to a fellow-victim, and toiling on under a guard of soldiers, with loaded pieces—until life itself has sunk under suffering; the torture of the lash laid on, until the boots of the victim are filled with the blood of his back, and continued until insensibility puts an end to the infliction; the ghastly form, shrivelled and shrunk, until disease and improper diet cause the flesh to peel off, in white ulcerated scales: these sad details have not been related and descanted on, nor has the fact been disseminated, of felons murdering their very comrades without cause or provocation, in order that they may be brought to the scaffold, and relieved of an existence so loathsome and detested.

If idea can conceive, and the wildest fancy imagine, all that is horrible and appalling on earth, such pictures would fall far short of the reality of what a large portion of convicts have to undergo. If assigned on his first arrival, the felon is subject to all the peculiarities of his master. In the words of Sir George Arthur, when examined before a Parliamentary Committee: “The convict is subject to the caprice of the family to which he is assigned, and subject to the most summary laws. He is liable to be sent to a chain-gang, or to be scourged for idleness, for insolent words, for insolent LOOKS, or for anything betraying an insurgent spirit.” And the definition



of these is left to the master, in a moment of spleen, anger, or resentment; the convict may be reviled, abused, and if but one look is apparent, or one word issues from the victim's lips, it may be distorted into an offence, for which the lash is the punishment.

And such a lash!—it is a complete cat-o'-nine-tails, such as was used in the navy years ago, when death sometimes ensued from its practice; it is much severer than the military cat, and is inflicted by a regular scourger, attached to any depôt where convicts are, and every police station. The scourger is always a convict, who takes the situation to save himself from the torture he has to inflict on his companions in guilt; a small stipend and a few privileges are his reward. These men show no mercy to sufferers, as in case they failed in their duty, their situation would be lost; and frightful as its duties are, yet it would be considered a serious deprivation. At present no more convicts are assigned in New South Wales, as transportation has been discontinued; yet there are still many persons in private assignment, whose term of punishment or time for obtaining a ticket of leave has not arrived; these men were all assigned whilst transportation continued, and are rapidly obtaining their tickets of leave; so that, in a very short time, no convicts will continue to exist in private assignment in the colony. At any time, however, misconduct may cause a ticket of leave to be cancelled, and then the unfortunate is turned over to Government employment, to work on the roads, streets or public buildings.

There are two great penal establishments in connection with New South Wales: Norfolk Island and Goat Island. Norfolk Island is the principal; it is an isolated island in



the Pacific, about twelve hundred miles from Sydney. The place is without any other inhabitants than convicts, soldiers, and persons engaged in the management and control of the prison population, who work in chains, and are subjected to the most severe inflictions. No person can be transported to this island, from the colony, unless he has originally been a convict; it is, therefore, properly speaking, a receptacle for doubly-convicted felons. No ship is allowed to anchor at this place: the Government vessels even keeping under-weigh, when landing people or embarking goods; private ships are altogether precluded from communication with those on the island.

Goat Island is a small place, situated in the estuary of Port Jackson, where the worst description of subjects are kept at severe work, quarrying, building, &c. &c. The number of convicts here is small, but those at Norfolk Island generally exceed twelve hundred. Bushrangers are at present sent to Norfolk Island, instead of suffering death, as was the case ten years ago. From time to time, many desperate attempts have been made by the prisoners to take the island, and several determined attacks have been resorted to, in the hope of capturing the Government vessels, that keep up a communication with Sydney.

At different periods, many convicts have escaped in open boats, some belonging to the authorities, others constructed by themselves, in secret caves and recesses of Norfolk Island, with bits of wood, nails, &c., pilfered by degrees from the general stores. Many of these refugees, are to be found dispersed amongst the Archipelago, to the southward of New Guinea; a few also made their

way to New Zealand; all avoiding the Australian shores, because a return there would lead, if taken, to further punishment and slavery. At the penal settlements, as well as the iron-gangs, the convicts are chained in pairs, night and day, sleeping and waking.

At present, the law only permits the infliction by order of *one* magistrate of fifty lashes for the first offence; but repetition enlarges this authority. Two magistrates may sentence a man to receive two hundred lashes, to be administered on different parts of the body, or at separate times.

But indeed, fifty such lashes as those administered in New South Wales are full punishment for any human being. Not unfrequently, large strips of flesh and sinew are cut from the sufferer's back, and he faints often on being released from the triangles—death even has been known to result therefrom. Masters, particularly of late years, have been unrelenting in their treatment of convicts: getting them punished for fancied offences, in order to prolong the term of their sentence, and prevent them obtaining a ticket-of-leave, and the master from losing those services, which are obtained for the mere cost of support and certain rags of clothes furnished annually. When an assigned servant obtains a ticket of leave it is a dead loss to the master, to the amount that has to be paid a free man to replace him, no other convict being re-assigned, at present; in his stead; it is therefore the interest of the assignee to prolong the punishment of his convict servant, which he can do without losing him, by having the man flogged,—this punishment postponing for a certain time the right to the indulgence of a ticket of leave. No man wishes, on his return to his native land, to emblazon his disgrace: this

accounts in a great measure for the few convicts that do return not making the public aware of the fearful sufferings they have passed through.

There are exceptions, however : money, influence, or early arrival in the colony have soothed and smoothed the lot of numbers, but they are the exceptions, and not the rule ; the very countenances of freed convicts plainly show the extremity of suffering they have passed through. It has often been asserted, that good conduct will soon lighten the lot of the convict, and protect him against the lash, iron-gangs, and from being sent to penal settlements. But even in private assignment this is too often impossible, subject as the convict is to every whim and fancy of his master. The opinion too held by assignees of their fellow-creatures, when convicts, leads not unfrequently to the most tyrannical and coercive conduct. Magistrates there are in the colony who would think no more of ordering a hundred lashes each to a dozen of convicts, without listening to one word of their defence, than of sitting down to their dinner ; presumption always being against the convict, the word of one free man is sufficient to bring the severest punishment on his head.

The rations prescribed by the Government to be given to assigned servants, and even to men in public employment, may appear to be amply sufficient, and superior to what the Irish labourer is able to obtain ; but the intentions of the executive are not always carried into effect. In 1839, when scarcity existed in the land, the lot of the convict was fearful : in many of the road gangs half the men were unable to walk, and their skin was covered with large scales. The superiors of the convict gangs, whose

duty it is to see to the quality and quantity of the provisions, are easily bribed by gratuitous or superior supplies, for themselves, from the contractors ; and maize bread and the worst meat is thrown to the felon, and considered good enough for him. At present, whilst provisions are so extremely cheap in the colony, it is scarce worth the while of the master to feed his assigned servants on anything but the best food ; but such was not the case before 1840, when meat was 1s. per lb., and flour as high as £5 per cwt., the four pound loaf in Sydney being 2s. 3d. to 2s. 6d. ; then, indeed, the very worst food fell to the convict's lot.

In a small pamphlet on Transportation, published in 1838, by the Rev. Dr. Ullathorne,\* now Roman Catholic Bishop for Hetalona, and Vicar Apostolic for the Western District of England, he says, " Take any one of you, my dear readers ; separate him from his wife, from his children, from all those whose conversation makes life dear to him ; cast him on the ends of the earth ; let him there fall amongst reprobates who are lost, the stain and disgrace of our common nature ; give him those obscene mouthed monsters for his constant composers and consolers ; let the daily vision of their progress, from infamy to infamy, until the demon that inspires them has *exhausted invention*, and the power of nature together, be his only example ; house him at night in a bark hut, on a mud floor, where he has less comfort than the cattle in your stalls ; awake him from the troubled dreams of

\* This gentleman was many years in New South Wales, and had the best possible opportunity of knowing the true position and sufferings of convicts there.

his wretched wife and children, to feel how far he is from their help ; and take him out at sunrise, work him under a burning sun, and a heartless overseer, and the threat of the lash until night fall ; give him not a penny's wages, but sorrow ; leave him no hope but the dull, dreary round of endless drudgery for many years to come ; let him see no opening by which to escape, but through a long, narrow prospect of police courts, of gaols, of triangles, of death cells, and of penal settlements ; let him, all the while, be clothed in a dress of shame, that shows to every living soul his degradation ; and if he dares to sell any part of that clothing, then flog him worse than any dog ! And thus, whilst severed from all kindness and all love, whilst the stern, harsh voice of his task-master is grating in incessant jars within his ear ; take all rest out of his flesh, and plant the thorn ; take all feeling out of his heart, and leave the withered core ; take all peace out of his conscience, and leave the worm of remorse ; and then let any one come, and dare to tell me that the man is happy, because he has bread and meat. Is it not here, if ever there was such a case, where the taste of bread is a taste of misery, and where to feed and prolong life is to feed and lengthen out sorrow. And in pondering these things, do not those strong words of the sacred scripture bring down their load of truth in heavy trouble to our thoughts, that, '*Their bread is loathsome to their eye, and their meat unto their soul,*' oh ! then say not, think not, the convict is, or can be happy, because he has bread and meat."

The Reverend gentleman, who has thus exhibited the convict's fearful state, when merely in a road gang,

without the increased punishment of irons, or a penal settlement, quoting from the letter of a fellow clergyman, proceeds to state, "I was called to one lately, (a convict), he had been but four years in the colony; but during that period he had, at different times, been one hundred and fourteen days in solitary confinement, no bed or blanket; half a black loaf in the twenty-four hours, sometimes enduring extreme heat, sometimes intense cold, and had received sixteen hundred lashes. He had not a bad heart, and when he spoke to me of his mother, the tears fell abundantly from his cheeks. His master had what is called *a down upon him*. I was called to another:—he had been eleven years—seven of them had been passed in heavy irons, besides scourgings. He listened to my little exhortation, and I observed a struggle coming on, his chest heaved, and his throat reddened; I became alarmed; at length a flood of tears relieved him, and he exclaimed, 'Oh! Sir, this is the first kind word I have heard for eleven years.' He was in despair. And when I promised, if he behaved well for two or three years, to endeavour to get him some indulgence, his was a happy heart, when hope came to it, however distant."

The Reverend gentleman gives an extract from the letter of a convict to his friends at home. The writer was a man of education, and according to rule, was sent on arrival, to Port Macquarie, as a special constable to assist in controlling the lower classes of felons. Notwithstanding his advantageous position—being exempted from manual labour—hear this man speak and describe his situation.

"My motive in writing to you from this place, is to beg



of you, in the name of all that is sacred, in the name of that merciful God at whose hands the most virtuous shall have one day to crave mercy, to obtain a pardon for me from the Irish Government. You are aware I was satisfied with my sentence when I received it,—and I still admit its justice. I shall now state the cause of my wish to have it reversed.

“ I wish to leave this hateful country, but more particularly this place, because I am hourly, by virtue of my situation, under the necessity of coming in contact with the veriest wretches, the most consummate villains, either as regards their former conduct or their present dispositions, that ever existed. Still, in the eye of the law, they are my equals. A change of situation would be as bad, if not worse ; for the slightest offence—the very shadow of offence, in fact—a special (constable) would be turned into barracks, amongst the most depraved and abandoned class of men in the world ; the lame, the blind, insane, epileptic,\* the language and conduct of whom is far worse than their bodily infirmities. I must say, that my fate is too hard ; I feel that it is. I could serve seven years in confinement alone ; I could work cheerfully for the same period without the least remuneration, if I could only meet occasionally with virtuous people ; but in such a place as this, it is impossible I could live so long, unaffected by the ridicule, or uncontaminated by the example of the vicious and the vile of all descriptions, who surround me. I say uncontaminated, in sober sadness ; for, no matter how practised a man may have been in all the

\* It was the custom to send all maimed or diseased convicts to Port Macquarie.



offences that merit transportation, no matter if half his life-time were spent in gaols, he is still a mere novice in such things when he arrives here. Impossible, I repeat, but that I should become ultimately (and imperceptibly likely, but too surely) the depraved and degraded being which I now behold with such horror. Farewell, then, to all hope either of present or future happiness.

“I have not written to any of my relations, not wishing that they should know of my miserable situation, after coming out here in such comparatively favourable circumstances. . . . I do wish to state most distinctly, that all my hopes of future happiness depend on the success of this application. If I once get corporal punishment, *and it is one man in five hundred* that escapes it in this settlement, it is all over. Every one I see daily punished thinks of it no otherwise than as far as regards the pain of its infliction ; and the class to which I belong are not the least among the number. To a man on whose mind it would have a greater effect than on his back, all hopes of his doing well are at an end. Worse than all, there are villains, who, if they dislike one, will get him punished at any risk ; and sooner than forego revenge, they would be punished themselves.

“Those who have served a sentence, under such circumstances, are unfit to be admitted into civilized and virtuous society again. It is fortunate for Ireland that so few ex-pirees return to her shores.”

Such is the description of a convict's lot, under “most favourable circumstances,” but how much more appalling is his fate in a penal settlement, or a chain gang ! When the late Chief-Justice of New South Wales was examined

before a Committee of the House of Commons, he was asked if he would not prefer being burned alive, to being sent to a penal settlement. "If the question was put to myself," he said, "I should not hesitate a moment in preferring death under any form that you could present to me, than such a state of endurance as Norfolk Island." "One convict, on the same island," says Dr. Ullathorne, "when brought up to receive sentence, wrung the heart and brought tears to the eyes of his judge, as he exclaimed: 'Let a man be what he will when he comes here, he is soon made as bad as the rest; the heart of a man is taken from him, and there is given to him the heart of a beast.'" "Of the female convict," pursues the Doctor, "I shall only say, that if she is at all decent, to transport her is to give her a ticket of infamy. The female convict is seldom long at service before she is sent to the Factory, or House of Correction, for punishment. Her punishment there, is imprisonment, with labour, or solitary confinement, on bread and water." From 1833 to 1836, the Rev. Doctor says, there were one hundred and two criminals executed in Sydney alone; and he bears witness to the fact, as witnessed by himself, "that many of these men, when they were brought out to die, thanked God it was a better fate than going to Norfolk Island." And the convict barracks where hundreds of human beings are huddled together, where crime is practised in its most appalling forms, and the semblance of virtue scoffed at and ridiculed, until all become equally depraved—oh! the scenes of abominable crimes, and the excess of brutality there, are such as no pen could venture to describe, nor any mind, indeed, scarcely conceive.

The Rev. Dr. Ullathorne, with the best means of information, conferred by his religious duties, says of these convicts : “They are then confined in convict barracks, which are the scene of such monstrous things, that I have known the blind man thank God for having deprived him of sight, since these horrors were thus shut out by one gate from his soul. There, all kindly human feelings seem to die away ; there, men sharpen their wicked ingenuity to torment each other, being the only poor revenge that is left them ; there each man carries every little thing he has in the world about his person, lest it be stolen the next moment. ‘Do give me a pair of shoes, of any sort, to show at muster,’ said once, a hard, brown-visaged man to me, not without a tear, having escaped a moment for the purpose, ‘for mine have been stolen, and I am sure to be flogged.’ There, nothing is heard as one passes, but the hoarse, loud brawlings of the imperative overseer ; and there, the gory triangle is incessantly being erected for the infliction of punishment.”

It is indeed a mercy that transportation to New South Wales has ceased ; the frightful vice and crime that have overshadowed that beautiful land since it was settled, by making it a vast gaol, a receptacle for felons, have perverted it into such a hell, such a pandemonium of sin, that one feels regret that it still does not remain occupied by the wild and tameless Aborigines, the children of nature. Search the world over, and in no part will there be found a race of human beings so completely uncivilized as the Aborigines of Australia. They are essentially an erratic people, moving and wandering from place to place, as necessity or fancy dictates. Their food is scanty, and is either con-

sumed raw, or half cooked—if broiling on wood ashes may be so called. The animals and vermin of the woods, with birds, roots, snakes, and grub-worms extracted from the trees, are their chief subsistence. The animals of Australia are mostly few in number, and diminutive in size; indeed, none, except the kangaroo, and native dog, deserve to be mentioned. In a state of nature, and removed from communication with Europeans, the Aborigines possess no domestic utensils of any kind, except rough vessels to carry water, which they hollow out of the knots and excrescences of trees. They have no instrument either for the purpose of separating and disjoining their food, which is dragged asunder with their hands and teeth. Houses or habitations they have none; their only shelter is afforded by what is called a mia-mia; in fine weather this is constructed with the branches of trees, in other seasons, with sheets of bark stripped from the nearest trees. The mode of constructing these mia-mias, is to stick upright in the ground a couple of forked branches three feet high, across the top of these, is laid transverse a piece of wood, against which on each side is laid in a slanting direction bark or branches; the side, in a direction opposite to that from which the wind blows, is left perfectly open, as in front a fire is always made. A few branches or leaves is the Aboriginal bed, on which the savage lays himself wrapped up in a robe or blanket of opossum skins, which he joins together for the purpose, with admirable art. Over the forests of interior Australia, are to be found scattered the few sheets of bark that have composed the Aboriginal mia-mia, and the

in the vicinity being denuded of bark. But these are very temporary memorials of the past; in a few years, they are lost, and become mingled with the soil; yet they may be said to form with the mark of the native tomahawk on the forest trees, inflicted when in search of the hiding places of opossums, the only relics that denote the previous presence of the children of nature.

The Aboriginal arms are simple in the extreme, the use of the bow even not being known amongst them. Spears, some for throwing with the aid of a short stick, which acts as a lever, others for closer combat; waddies or wooden clubs, boomerangs, shields of wood and a simple wooden circular pointed axe, form the weapons offensive and defensive of the natives. Many of the spears are barbed with bone, or glass obtained from the whites, which is fastened on with native gum. In personal warfare, amongst themselves, the arms of the Aborigines prove very ineffective: tribes of eighty or a hundred individuals each, meet in deadly strife, the battle lasting for some time, and ending with perhaps five or six wounded, or it may be one killed. This is chiefly owing to the great personal agility of the native in warding off or parrying the spear, or waddie of the assailant, by means of his shield. In New South Wales the Aboriginal race, or the remains of it, has much deteriorated in stature and physical power, since the settlement of the country by the whites. Far in the interior or towards the southward, this is not so much the case; because the whites have been but a short time settled in those parts.

The male Aboriginal native, when undegenerated by admixture with Europeans, is tall, strong and well formed,

particularly upright and elastic in his walk and step, with rounded limbs, and broad deep chest. The head is generally large and massive, the features, broad, thick, and gross, and particularly repulsive; the eyes dark, and the hair black, but straight and uncurled, unlike the woolly poll of the negro. The women are not at all so well formed as the men, and if possible the features of many of them are yet more ungainly than those of the male sex: with large ill-shaped bodies, and lean thin legs which appear at every step about to become disjointed, they form sad samples of the fair sex.

Men and women, alike, smear and plaster their long hair with grease and clay, and by day no clothing is worn except a very limited quantity round the loins; in some parts, this even is dispensed with. When in the neighbourhood of the towns, the native may be seen strutting about in an old pair of trowsers and a shirt, or sometimes with an old coat or jacket round the upper part of the body, whilst the lower portions are left denuded of all covering. All—men, women and children—are in their habits, customs, and intelligence, little elevated above the condition of the brute creation.

Death, from natural causes, is not believed in by them: violence or malice are the sole causes to which the decease of any member of a tribe is attributed. In the latter case, it is supposed that some enemy has stolen the vital power away, in the shape of the kidney fat of the dead man; this is considered to have been accomplished with the aid of an evil spirit, and in order to avenge the deceased, means are taken to ascertain who is the guilty person. The



to take a worm, the produce of decomposition, from the body, place it on the earth, and in whatever direction the thing creeps, it is thence decided the death of their friend was caused. \* A party of near relations is then formed, and they set out in the direction indicated. The first Aboriginal native that crosses their path is concluded to be the murderer, either in thought or deed, and he is unrelentingly sacrificed to the ignorance and credulity of these beings. His caul and kidney fat are then taken out of his body, portions of the flesh cut off, and the successful party return to their tribe, having thus in their idea fully satisfied the manes of their late comrade.

This leads to retaliation from the tribe of the person whom they have murdered ; and so goes on, from year to year, this system which more than compensates for the bloodless character of their battles. Treachery and superstition do the work of depopulation, and have thus, since the whites have had an opportunity of judging, kept the extent of the population very limited.

Child murder is also prevalent amongst the native tribes, and has not been, more than any other crime, checked by the settlement of the country by the whites. The policy pursued by the Government towards the Aborigines has been, to leave them to themselves as regards all offences perpetrated on one another, but to visit with the terrors of the law any injury or offence committed on Europeans or whites.

Thus they are allowed to commit all kinds of crime amongst themselves ; and this impunity, aided by collisions with the whites, and the diseases introduced by the latter, has had the effect of nearly exterminating the



Aboriginal race in New South Wales, and reducing the few miserable specimens that are to be met with to an extreme state of bodily decrepitude. Civilization has indeed done little to ameliorate and improve the condition of the original lords of this soil, and but few efforts have been made to bring them within its pale. The convict servants scattered over the face of the country have ever used the natives as their passions dictated; and whenever the latter attempted resistance or retaliation, the fire-arms of the whites swept them off by hundreds. In vain did the Executive, when too late, try to put a stop to this, it only increased the hatred between the races; and it is believed even that poison has been resorted to, under the guise of administering food to the Aborigines, the more rapidly to clear them from the land.

In 1838 and 1839, in consequence of the determination of the Government to make strict inquiry into every case where a native was killed by whites, it became dangerous for the shepherds, stock-keepers, &c., at distant stations, to pursue their former course of open violence; but corrosive sublimate, and other mercurial and arsenic preparations used for sheep-dressing, offered an easy mode of getting rid of the Aborigines, if they proved at all troublesome. The poison was mixed with "flour," made into bread, or damper, and then given to the victims. The writer can assert, from personal knowledge, that in many parts of New South Wales, this mode of proceeding was made no secret, but openly spoken and even boasted of, when the number sacrificed were large.

But this was not the only means of destroying the

Aborigines by wholesale. In 1839, an instance occurred of an entire tribe being tied up, and to the number of forty or fifty shot, in revenge for outrages, in the commission of which it was uncertain whether they were at all engaged. The perpetrators of this deed of blood were, as has been previously stated, brought to trial, and, in the face of the protests of the colonists, executed; but as it turned out afterwards that the authorities had been too precipitate in the execution of these men, their death was looked upon as little short of murder, and this tended materially to inflame the passions of the whites against the Aborigines. For those men executed on the gallows, many is the death-shriek of the native that has resounded through the woods and valleys of New South Wales, as the musket or rifle of the stockman dealt death on the lonely and unprotected savage.

The traveller, as he wanders over the vast extent of New South Wales, now seldom meets, except to the southward, with the Aborigines. A few are to be found yet about Sydney, but the diseases and vices of the whites are fast reducing their number, and in a few years they will be spoken of merely as a people that have been. As the settlement of the country proceeds, the natural food of the natives is driven thence or destroyed. They are thus driven by necessity to make prey of sheep or bullocks, in place of the kangaroo; this entails retaliation and punishment from the whites, and death on both sides is the result; but in the proportion of at least fifty natives for every white man that falls.

The Aborigines, when deprived of their natural food, have no recourse, therefore, but to plunder the settlers;

they cannot retire as the population spreads, and follow the wild animals, for if they do so, other tribes of Aborigines on whose territory they encroach, will more rapidly exterminate them than even those from whom they flee.

The hospitality practised by all other people to strangers is unknown to the Australian savage. The moment an isolated wanderer of another tribe makes his appearance, he is immediately slaughtered without remorse—no hand of friendship or aid is extended to him, death is his inevitable lot; his body is cut up, and portions of it used by his murderers in their sacrifices, and in the anointment of their own bodies.

A great part of the known Australian tribes practise cannibalism; apparently not from any wish for human flesh itself, but as an essential rite in their ceremonies. The caul and kidney fat of the victim are always taken out, the latter being supposed to impart both strength and vigour to the person over whose body it is rubbed.

When preparing for war, and their dances or corrobories, the Aborigines ornament themselves with preparations of red and white clay, which is distributed in alternate lines over the body.

The corrobory is always performed at night: and in the dark deep woods, lit up with fires, casting their gleam amongst the arches of the forest, the scene presented is both novel and entertaining. The dark bodies, the wild voices and gesticulations of a large number of men, whirling and gliding into various figures, form such a picture as cannot be adequately portrayed. The voice and a couple of sticks struck together are the only means of

marking time and tune, if this monotonous drawl may be so called.

The mode of disposing of the dead varies: some tribes burning the bodies, others covering them simply with boughs or stones, few going to the trouble of burying in the earth; whatever the deceased has possessed in life, in the shape of arms, &c., are burned or interred with him. The aged men of a tribe, when they become helpless and useless, implore death, and receive it in the shape of the blow of a waddie, from their son or nearest relative.

The females are the perfect slaves of the males: they perform all the drudgery and work, carrying wood and drawing water, and no kindly word or act rewards them for this—blows and kicks are their only portion. They are in no wise considered worthy of sharing in the customs of the males of the tribe; even in death, they fare not like their lords, when their bodies become too frequently the portion of the native dogs: their death is not considered worthy of notice, and they pass away without regret, frequently despatched by the spear or waddie of their master.

Polygamy is practised, and wives are obtained, if not from the native's own tribe, from some neighbouring one, from which they are stolen or carried off by force; when one of these is killed, or dies a natural death, another is at once procured to fill her place.

Up to a certain age, about seventeen, the young men of the tribe are not acknowledged as warriors, or allowed to take their place in the corrobory and other such scenes, as men; on passing the specified time, a front tooth is knocked out of the head of the young warrior, and he then becomes

entitled to all the rights and immunities of the privileged.

The Aborigines have few traditions, perhaps none that cannot be traced to the presence or original settlement of the whites, in some way or other. A belief in the presence of supreme beings for good and evil exists, and the spirit or life of a deceased person is supposed to pass into the body of some other human being or animal.

Amongst the South Sea whalers, an Aboriginal native of Australia is occasionally to be found, but they never acquire, even after many years, any general knowledge of civilization; let them return to their own shores again, and if a remnant of their tribe remains, the clothes they have adopted are cast off, and the pathless forests once more receive them as children of nature, and wild wanderers in their bosoms.

It is a question if the Aborigines within the bounds of location in New South Wales number in the aggregate, at present, five hundred persons; beyond, where stations are few and far between, they are more numerous, yet scanty when the extent of country is considered. Another ten years and an Aboriginal native will be as great a curiosity in Sydney, or within the boundaries of the colony, as he is at present in Europe, and they will have passed away without leaving behind them a single lasting memorial of their past existence.

The recollection of them will only be preserved in the tales, legends, and hair-breadth escapes of the earlier settlers; for when roused by injuries, the natives have frequently perpetrated daring and desperate murders on the whites, numbers prevailing over the advantages of



fire arms. Like the Aboriginal races of Spanish America, civilization has done little indeed for the natives of New South Wales : death and extinction have been and will be alike the lot of the inferior race.

The writer will conclude his account of the colony of New South Wales, with a few remarks on the prospects that country holds out for emigrants, whether persons of means, or those having only their labour to depend on. The reader must feel convinced, from the particulars already given, that the society of the place is not, at present, very inviting ; but the progress of years, it is hoped, may amend this.

The stain of felony—of worse crimes—rests on the land : the pollution is widely, deeply seated, and the existing disproportion of the sexes, cries loudly to the rulers of the land for amendment ; for until the cause is removed, the effect must continue. But in the work of amendment and reformation, the settler and squatter must take a principal part ; they must abandon the general custom of having none but men on their sheep and cattle stations : and children even should be taken with their parents, with the idea of making them ultimately available. The squatters and settlers themselves, and their overseers, should also pursue a more lenient and encouraging course towards their servants. The master should for his own sake endeavour to preserve the services of a useful man, by kindness, sympathy and promptitude of payment ; moreover, the clothing, tobacco, &c., furnished by the squatter or settler to his servant, should be charged at a fair rate, instead of being overpriced. The large land-

adopt the small farm system, in situations where the land is really good, and fresh water plentiful at all seasons; this land should not only be disposed of in small lots, but at low rates, good care being taken that the next drought shall not deprive the location of water, and render all his previous labour a nullity, to the industrious cultivator.

It may be desirable here to point out to that numerous class of emigrants, consisting of artizans, shepherds, and labourers, the best mode of proceeding on arriving at the colony.

Most individuals who require employment, usually seek out a master at some of the registry offices; but if they arrive in an emigrant ship, masters proceed on board, or to the emigrant barracks, where new arrivals in bounty ships, who have come out at the Government expense, are housed for a few days. The labourer is accosted by a master, who first inquires if he is a single man; if he be not, three fourths of the employers pass on. At length a settler comes forward, who has a dairy station, or homestead, where he wants a man and his wife. The new comers are thus gradually disposed of, but the family man is left to the last, till, perhaps, he is at length provided for by being engaged at some settler's abode, not great distance from Sydney; if very many young children are in the way, he must make out the best living possible at daily work about Sydney. The wages for a single man vary from £20 to £30, according to the demand and the season. For a married couple—the female understanding the charge of a dairy,



£35 to £50. If encumbered with young children, the labourer and his wife have to accept diminished wages, in order to make amends for the increased number of mouths that will be plying the settler's flour sack or sugar bag. All pastoral or agricultural servants, if not fed in the settler's own house, which is seldom, are provided with rations, which, in the present state of the colony, are from ten to twelve pounds of fresh meat, the same quantity of flour, half a pound of sugar, and two ounces of tea, per week, for each adult person.

If employed in agricultural labour, the work of the man is sometimes exceedingly severe: felling trees, or burning off timber to clear land, whilst the thermometer stands at 90° in the shade. Many masters have too little consideration for their servant under such circumstances: having to pay high wages, their work must be done in all weathers, otherwise the man is likely to be brought before the next magistrate, and mulcted in part of his wages, or punished by imprisonment for neglect of his duty. This is, indeed, no unfrequent occurrence under the "Master and Servants' Act" of the colony. Shepherds, or persons engaged as such, have to proceed in many instances far beyond the bounds of the colony. Within or without it, their occupation is still the same: at daylight they arise and follow a flock of sheep from 600 to 1200 in number, according to the country; the shepherd has never to complain of having too small a flock, as it is of course the interest of the master to make the shepherd mind as many as possible, to reduce the amount of his wages' account.

From early morning to approaching night the shepherd

wanders after his flock, alike over wide plains and gentle hills ; in some situations steep precipices and deep gulleys, covered over with scrub and timber, entail constant care and watchfulness, to guard against the attacks of the native dogs, or the chance of the sheep straying. At night and morning the flock is counted in and out of the hurdles, and if not found correct, the shepherd who tends by day, or the hut-keeper who watches by night, is made responsible. The servant is also, frequently, even made accountable for the onslaught of a native dog, which in a thickly-timbered country, and with a large flock, it is at times impossible to guard against ; and thus he is mulcted of his wages. But this is not all : the free servant is even liable not only to lose the value of the sheep, but to imprisonment, if the master or superintendent thinks fit to attribute the disaster to gross neglect, or through the shepherd's sleeping at his post.

Nearly all the great flock-masters of the colony of New South Wales have at some period been accustomed to employ convict labour. Slaves, subject to the lash, to chains, and the penal settlements, have served them ; they have become accustomed to such, and with these habits, they forget the rights of freemen. New comers often fall into this mode of proceeding from example, and the result is, the imposition on the servant of flocks too large for him to manage, and which, in all probability, must be scared by the native dogs, or lost in the scrub. Stock-keepers and bullock-drivers are not, in general, newly-arrived emigrants, as a knowledge of the country is necessary to fill either situation. The wages of this class of servants is from twenty five to thirty-five pounds a year.

It may be easily supposed that at least three-fourths of the stock-owners, squatters, and settlers, of New South Wales, are really bad masters. This may be in the first place traced to the reason already mentioned—habitude to convict labour—until within the very last few years. Such men as these cannot reconcile themselves to pay good fair wages to free labourers, when they are not obtaining the large profits of times gone by, from their flocks and herds.

Every means is moreover resorted to in order to mulct the labourer of part of his hire. If the servant requires a pair of shoes, clothes, or tobacco, he is too distant, in all probability, from any store to obtain them; the master therefore supplies what is required, and charges double price. At the termination of the servant's period of engagement, every endeavour is made in the shape of charges for "slops," lost sheep, &c. &c., to reduce the claim of the man; and if all those means fail, the unscrupulous master or superintendent but too often flatly refuses to pay the demand, telling the man to go to law if he likes. Not unfrequently another mode is resorted to of eluding the just demands of servants. The general mode of making payments of every kind in the colony is by orders on Sydney, on merchants, bankers, or agents, resident there. Unless the servant wishes to dispose of these by spending the amount at some country grog shop, he must tramp to Sydney, some three or four hundred miles off perhaps, to obtain cash; when arrived, the chances are that the order is refused payment by the agent on whom it is drawn—he has received no information or advice with regard to it. The unfortunate man is then knocked about from post to pillar, he has no means to go

to law with the settler, and he is ultimately obliged to accept what is offered by some publican or lodging-house keeper, who takes the chance of recovering the amount of the order, in consideration of a heavy discount.

But if the labourer has even the good fortune to meet with an honest master, and to obtain his wages when due, the amount, unless lodged in the Savings' Bank, is of little benefit to the man. If without a family, his personal wants are few; but as there is no opportunity for him to purchase a small farm-allotment of good land with his surplus savings, the publican reaps the advantage, and receives, in payment for his destroying spirit, the money that would have been gladly laid out, if proper facilities existed, in acquiring a homestead and permanent abode.

In the early days of the colony, when Governors Macquarie and Darling ruled the destinies of New South Wales, the effect of allotments of land conferred on those willing to cultivate it, was well understood, both in reforming the convict population and promoting the ultimate benefit of the country. Three fourths of the small farms of New South Wales, on the Hunter, at the five islands, along Cook's River, and in the neighbourhood of Windsor, were granted originally to promote a middle class of yeomen, or persons between the condition of a labourer, and that of the large stock-owner. But since the system of selling land was introduced by Government, this plan of encouraging small farms has, either by design or unwittingly, ceased to form a part of their policy. Land is only sold

labouring man to purchase. This may have originally been caused by the difficulty experienced by the Survey Department in keeping pace, in their surveys, with the demands for land, when required to be divided into small sections. Therefore, no country lots under 640 acres were disposed of, and, as we have before stated, the large purchasers, capitalists, and speculators became a class of middle-men, to retail out at enormous profit, to the man of small means, that soil which it should have been the care of the Executive, in the first instance, to place fairly within the reach of all.

At present, much the greater portion of the good, well-watered, accessible land of the colony, is either in the hands of former purchasers, or of the vast grantees; and these men are universally opposed to the creation of a class of small cultivators, as it would materially diminish the supply of labour, and render more independent the working classes. This is bad, radically wrong, a vast country should not, to answer the views of any class of men, be retained in a partially peopled state. Centralization and the interest of other classes should be regarded; and if the stock-holders and large proprietors will not conform to this, the Executive should take the matter in hand, and promote the welfare of the colony by wiser and more liberal measures.

Tradesmen, and men of small means accustomed to pastoral or agricultural pursuits at home, might find in New South Wales, to a certain extent, an advantageous place of settlement. That is, tradesmen to a limited number annually, and of such trades as are most in request in new countries, but not such as are devoted to the

manufacture of articles of luxury. If land, in small portions, could be obtained throughout the country, these persons might purchase, in a suitable locality, ground for a homestead and a plot sufficient for cultivation; and between this and the employment in their own calling, afforded by the surrounding population, they might progress to plenty and independence.

A farmer from England might not only find a plentiful, but ultimately, a prosperous home on the rich lands in alluvial districts, if he could obtain his fifty or hundred acres of good land, at a reasonable price; but until such shall be the case, New South Wales cannot afford to any of the above classes a desirable place of abode or settlement; and even the labourer should not be tempted to seek its shores under statements of out-of-the-way wages, for the probability is, as already stated, that he will find much difference between promises and performance:—it is one thing in New South Wales to be engaged at high wages, but another to be paid it.

The “Master and Servants’ Act” of New South Wales was partially brought into existence for the purpose of compelling masters to do their servants justice; it provides that the servant can, for any sum of £20 or under, subpcena his master before the nearest bench of magistrates, who have the power of adjudicating on the claim, and ordering a levy on the property of the defendant for the amount; and if this be not satisfied, the defaulter is subject to a certain term of imprisonment.

But the benefit contemplated by this Act is almost set aside, through the administration of the law being left in the hands of J. P’s, all of whom, in the interior or else-



where, are either stock or land-holders arrayed against the interest of the labourer, and on the side of the master. Except in very few instances, the Colonial J. P's are by far the worst masters in the colony: their servants are the worst fed, worst paid, and most harshly treated; and if any convicts remain in their service whose sentence has not yet expired, or who have been unable to obtain their ticket of leave on the expiration of their years of probation, there will surely be found to exist in the neighbourhood a gang of bush-rangers, consisting of the magistrate's convict servants, who, after dark, set out on marauding expeditions, and lay others under contribution, to obtain what their master stints them of at home.

The writer once had occasion to enter a small court-house in the Bathurst district; a single elderly magistrate was on the bench, but his venerable grey hairs were sadly out of accordance with the volley of oaths he poured out upon an unfortunate assigned servant who was before him for neglect. He treated the case with as careless an indifference as if he were sitting over his bottle, instead of being on the bench. A question produced the name of the man: it was Mr. R——, one of the agents engaged in the proceedings against Queen Caroline—a worthy and fitting administrator of justice amidst the felony of New South Wales. Some other individuals connected with the same celebrated case sought refuge in the colony from the execrations of the British public.

One, Dr. W——, met his death some years since from the hand of a bush-ranger, when riding over his own land. Dr. W—— being on horseback accidentally came up with the man, and seeing him armed and in a place where he



had no business, concluded he was a bush-ranger. The Doctor rode up to him, demanded his business, and ordered him to walk to his house before him; this the man declined; but as the Doctor was imperative, the matter was settled by the bush-ranger shooting him on the spot; the murderer afterwards related the circumstances attending his death, when about to be executed for another crime.

To the man of capital—leaving morality aside—New South Wales presents a large field for enterprize; if he acts with prudence and caution—bearing in mind the old colonial saying, to believe every man a rogue till he finds him an honest man—there is little doubt that he will largely increase his means.

Pastoral pursuits are the chief sources of wealth in the country. A man with from five to ten thousand pounds becoming a stock or flock master in the colony, or rather beyond its bounds, would undoubtedly in twelve or fourteen years realize a large property, perhaps treble his original capital. But great care should be originally taken in the purchase of both sheep and cattle, the former particularly, for besides the foot-rot and scab, common in all countries, sheep in New South Wales are subject in very dry seasons to an epidemic called in the colony the catarrh, which carries off in a short time entire flocks, it being almost impossible to stay or cure the disease.

When a flock becomes affected, it is considered the best way to slaughter them at once; and under the present system of boiling down, the loss becomes considerably reduced. It is supposed that diseased sheep having the catarrh communicate it to the land on which they feed,

from which other sheep take it, if put on the same run soon afterwards ; flocks communicate it if they are at all permitted to mingle, and the consequence is, of course, most destructive. The catarrh has fortunately not been at all prevalent in the colony since the drought of 1839, and in prosperous seasons is little regarded.

Not only should the intending settler personally see his stock before purchasing, but he should also inspect the run, if he has one given in with the stock ; if not, before buying a single beast or sheep he should provide himself with one, taking especial care that there be a plentiful supply of water, with no prospect of its failing in a dry season.

The new settler or squatter should always bear in mind the chance of a drought, in order, as far as possible, to guard against it : the colony having been subject to this contingency, at intervals of eight or ten years, ever since its first foundation.

To succeed and prosper as a flock-master, the man of means should endeavour to secure the possession of good servants by giving fair wages, and treating them well : paying with strict punctuality the wages of the labourer or shepherd, and even looking over any loss that might have been unavoidably sustained from strayed sheep, or those killed by the native dogs. This will soon acquire for the master a good name ; the best men will always be anxious to enter his service, at less wages than they would serve most others, because they will look to the security of their earnings and the comforts of the station.

The master will much benefit by such a course, as it must make his servants watch over his interests, and evoke that most powerful feeling in man, gratitude, which induces

the shepherd or stock-keeper to tend and preserve with all possible care the property of a good master: judicious kindness is never lost. As already stated, sheep are to be bought in flocks of a good breed at from 5s. to 8s. per head; the latter is an extreme price and only paid for the best ewes. Clean maiden ewes can be bought at from 6s. and 6d. to 7s. per head in flocks. Lambs under six months old are usually given in, as calves of the same age are with herds of cattle.

Cattle are to be purchased in mixed herds of three or four hundred or more, at from 30s. to £2. per head, at the outside. If the new colonist wishes to secure a homestead for himself, he may purchase such on the bank of some river or creek, from private individuals. When a large quantity of land is thus purchased, it is usual for the seller to surrender to the purchaser any right or interest he may have had, from occupation, in the back runs abutting on his land, which are Crown property, undisposed of in all probability in consequence of having no water-frontage. Indeed, without water, land in so dry a country as New South Wales can be of little value.

• But if the man of middling means wishes to prosper as a stock-keeper, he should reside at his stock stations, personally caring for and protecting his interests; none can do for him so well as himself. Assembling there his family around him, and taking good care to select his servants with a strict eye to their character and morality, the immigrant of middle rank in life, may even, in felon New South Wales, secure to himself such a home of plenty, contentment, and prosperity, as it would be most

petition to be met with in every profession, trade, and occupation, in his fatherland. The colony is vast in extent, the skies are bright and clear, the forests mighty in their compass, the alluvial lands fertile, and ready to receive the impress of man's toil and skill. With these advantages the immigrant may become, by perseverance and industry, the founder of families great and wealthy on the soil of this vast country.

A U S T R A L I A F E L I X ;

OR,

P O R T P H I L L I P .



## CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT, SOIL, CLIMATE, PRODUCE, AND MINERALS—IMPORTS AND EXPORTS—REVENUE, CROWN LANDS, POPULATION AND CULTIVATION.

THE Port Phillip district, or as it has been justly named by Sir Thomas Mitchell, Australia Felix, lies to the south west of New South Wales and on the southern shores of Australia.

It is bounded to the southward by Bass's Straits and the Ocean; to the northward by the Murray River; to the eastward by the snowy mountains, and the newly-discovered region of Gipps Land, (bordering on the Pacific) which now forms a portion of the Port Phillip District; and to the westward by the 141st degree of longitude, creating an artificial boundary between it and South Australia.

In length, including Gipps Land, it is about 350 miles, and in breadth in the mean somewhere about 250 miles. To the northward, as yet, the country may be said to be unexplored, and its capabilities unknown.

The boundaries to the north and east are not as yet permanently settled upon: Australia Felix being about to be politically separated from New South Wales, and it



being desirable that the new independent colony should possess a fair proportion of territory, and not become crippled in her pastoral pursuits, it is probable her heretofore recognized boundaries may be extended.

The well-known author and Australian advocate—Dr. Lang—proposes that the River Murrumbidgee, until it falls into the Murray should be the boundary to the north, and that then the Murray would form the line until it falls into Lake Alexandrina in the South Australian territory. Port Phillip, which gives its name to the district, was originally discovered by Lieutenant Murray in 1802, and visited and partially surveyed, in the same year, by Captain Flinders in the surveying ship *Investigator*.

The entrance to Port Phillip Bay is by an opening about two miles in width, between bluff promontories; on the eastern side, a ridge of rocks runs some half mile across the entrance. Within, the Bay extends into a vast sheet of water 60 miles long, by 28 wide, thus forming a small internal sea. On the northern side of the Bay lies Melbourne, also Williams Town, a small village, off which large ships anchor, and Geelong.

Melbourne itself is situated on the north bank of the Yarra Yarra river, by the tortuous course of which it is distant eight miles from the bay, but only two by land. The river is navigable up to the town for small vessels; but large craft must remain near its mouth in the bay, off William Town, and send their cargo up in lighters.

The Yarra is a narrow but deep stream, and could, by a moderate outlay, no doubt, be made navigable for ships of any tonnage, by the removal of the bar and a small sunken rock.

This is a most important desideratum, as the lighterage of goods from large ships forms a main item in the charges of the Melbourne merchants.

A few years after Port Phillip Bay was explored by Murray and Flinders, an attempt was made to found a penal settlement there, by the British Government. Two ships with convicts visited the Bay for the purpose, but fresh water not being found on a cursory search, the project was given up, and the destination of the ships altered to Van Dieman's Land, where a settlement was effected on the banks of the Derwent river. In the years 1833 and 1834, such was the increase of sheep and cattle in Van Dieman's Land, that pasturage became scarce and difficult to be found, much of that country being thickly covered with wood and scrub, and indented with precipices ; in consequence, several settlers crossed over from the island to the main, and established themselves, with their flocks and herds on the southern shores of Australia. Van Dieman's Land is only divided from the continent by a channel studded with numerous islands, about 150 miles wide.

Messrs. Batman, Gellibrand, Hesse, Strachan, Dr. Thompson, and one or two others, were the first settlers in Australia Felix.

Batman, after exploring the Yarra Yarra river, settled on its banks, close to the present site of Melbourne, purchasing from the natives, with a few presents, the right of occupation. The other gentlemen chiefly effected settlements more to the westward, in the present Geelong district. But alas ! for the fate of at least three of the pioneers of civilization in Australia Felix, they lived but a short time to enjoy the fruits of their enterprise. Gelli-

brand and Hesse, in proceeding to some station in the Geelong district, towards Port Fairy, lost their way and perished in the forests, or were murdered by the Aborigines: nothing authentic is known of their fate. Batman died of a lingering disease, contracted in the marshes and woods of Van Dieman's Land, whilst pursuing the natives and bush-rangers of that island, and left his property to the tender mercies of colonial Chancery, the delays of which have reduced his family to poverty and distress.

About the period that the Van Dieman's Land colonists crossed over to Port Phillip, for the purpose of settling, the attention of the people and Government of New South Wales was also drawn to the place, and Sir Thomas Mitchell, Surveyor-General, then Major Mitchell, was despatched overland to explore the country in 1836.

The Surveyor-General gave such a vivid and highly favourable report of the fertile valleys, and vast well-watered plains he had seen, that many settlers of New South Wales resolved to emigrate to the new country. Previous to the journey of Sir Thomas Mitchell, Messrs. Hume and Hovell had penetrated from the Sydney district to the southern shores of Australia, in the vicinity of Bass's Straits, in 1827, and a small penal settlement was attempted to be founded on the shores of Western Port, by the latter gentleman, but unsuccessfully. Mr. Hawdon, Mr. Campbell, and Mr. Mundy, also partially explored the district, in flying journeys; but it was not till the Van Dieman's Land settlers established themselves, that the attention of the New South Wales' Government and inhabitants was particularly attracted to the place. The flocks and herds of New South Wales had become

so extensive in 1834 and 1835, that new lands to pasture them on were required. The fertile and luxuriant soil of Australia Felix offered a wide field, and the New South Wales' settlers decided on not permitting their Van Dieman's Land brethren to monopolise the "happy land."

In consequence, large flocks and herds, with their owners, or sent by them for sale, poured in overland, from all parts of the old colony, till the journey which was at first looked upon as an exploit of no mean description, became a thing of every day occurrence, and the route to the "Port" in parts a beaten track.

To Messrs. Hume and Hovell who explored, or rather crossed, Australia Felix in 1827, the credit is due of having first penetrated to any distance into the interior of the country; and it is no detraction to their merits as discoverers, that the district was not settled for some years afterwards: the country, by its not being earlier colonized, has escaped, in a great measure, the evils of its felon parent—New South Wales.

Australia Felix may be divided into five districts, each of which possesses a shipping-port, and a vast extent of fertile land. The districts are, commencing easterly, Western Port, then Port Phillip, next Geelong, still more westward Port Fairy, situated on the ocean shores of Australia; and yet farther westward, Portland Bay, which latter district abuts on South Australia.

Western Port is a good, safe, and capacious Bay, in the vicinity of which lie many fresh-water lagoons and a small river. The anchorage in many parts of the Bay is good, and accessible for vessels of large size.

At present, little is known of the Bay; it has not been

carefully surveyed or buoyed off, for, up to the present period, no township or settlement has been laid out on its shores, nor, in fact, any land in the neighbourhood sold by the Government. The country is only occupied by squatters, who enjoy present possession in right of an annual license from the Crown lands' Commissioners, for which ten pounds per annum is paid, besides a small assessment on the stock possessed, and pastured on Crown lands.

In the vicinity of Western Port, the land is extremely good: a deep loamy soil, capable of bearing the finest crops, but better suited for cattle than sheep, as the ground is rather level, and in some places wet and marshy. Coal has been found in the neighbourhood of Western Port of good quality, but, as yet, the colonists have made no use of it, wood affording the cheapest and readiest fuel. To the eastward, the Western Port district is separated from a newly-discovered region, called Gipps Land, by an impenetrable scrub of mangrove and tea tree, which it would be all but futile to endeavour to make way through, even if the deep swamps did not offer still further difficulties. By land, Western Port is distant from Melbourne about fifty miles.

The Geelong district lies to the westward of Melbourne, and its capital of the same name is distant rather more than forty miles from the chief town of the province. The town of Geelong is situated on the shores of Port Phillip Bay, and off it, at some distance, vessels of large tonnage frequently load for foreign ports, with wool, bark, &c. This district is more elevated and much drier than Western Port; but although its soil may not be so deep and rich, yet it contains much good land, capable of producing in perfection

all kinds of grain. It is, however, most suitable for the pasturage of sheep, and its hills produce the best flocks in the country.

Port Fairy, which is 160 miles to the westward of Melbourne, is not so elevated as Geelong or so dry; lakes and marshes are found here; but the soil is very rich, and particularly suited for cattle, of which it produces the best, in point of condition, of any in the entire colony. Bullocks from this district, that weigh from twelve to fourteen cwt., are often killed in Melbourne, simply fed on such grass and herbs as the land in a state of nature affords.

The Bay of Port Fairy is rather exposed, lying open to the Southern Ocean. Whaling is carried on there during certain seasons, when the fish visit this part of the coast. Belfast is the name of the town or settlement at the Bay.

Portland Bay, lying yet further westward, is of some extent, giving its name to a large district of greater fertility. Towards the sea, the country is rather level, but becomes more hilly as you progress inland. Portland is the name of the town upon the Bay, which is becoming a place of trade and importance. Whaling is carried on as at Port Fairy, and with much success. The anchorage is better than at Port Fairy, but yet rather exposed to south-easterly winds, which roll in hither the long swell of the Southern Ocean.

In 1835 and 1836, many settlers crowded from Van Dieman's Land or New South Wales to Australia Felix; and from that period numerous herds and flocks had been collected in the new colony. Gradually its fertility and richness of soil became known, and in 1838 and 1839, it attracted the attention of people in England.



In 1835, the Government of New South Wales resolved to take possession of the district, and bring under their jurisdiction those who had been resident without any recognized official authorities presiding over them. At first, the semblance only of a government was accorded: Captain Lonsdale, a police magistrate, some constables, a custom-house officer, and a few other officials, were first sent down with a surveying-staff, to mark out the site for a town, and plot sections for sale.

The first land sale took place on the first of June, 1837; the allotments into which the future town of Melbourne was divided, were each about half an acre in size; and by auction, they brought from fifteen to ninety-five pounds, according to situation.

The country around Melbourne is either lightly timbered, resembling park scenery, or completely open and devoid of wood; the latter is particularly the case to the northward and westward. In these directions, beautiful undulating downs of much fertility, or level grassy plains, present an appearance that might well merit for the land the term of "Felix."

To the eastward, and across the Yarra Yarra to the south, the country is rather more thickly, but not densely, timbered: the timber is generally some species of the Eucalyptus, Banksia, or Mimosa. The gums or Eucalyptus are, in many instances, of great size, their roots diverging for yards round in every direction, and presenting formidable obstructions to the clearing of the land. But, except by the banks of rivers where the large white gum attains a gigantic size, the land on which the Eucalyptus grows is seldom of the best description, or



desirable for cultivation. In general, the soil of Australia Felix is vastly superior to that of New South Wales; although in the latter country there are many spots of land, such as are to be found on the banks of Hunter's River, in the Illawarra district, or on the shores of the Hawksbury, that cannot be surpassed: but these are isolated oases in the midst of bad land; whereas the general character of the soil in the Port Phillip district is good, and the proportion of the good land to the bad beyond comparison greater than in the elder colony. It is strange, but yet true, that some of the very best soil is found upon hills of small elevation; the flat land is generally only suited for grazing, the rains at certain seasons lying upon it, and rendering it cold. Wherever the tree called in the colony the she-oak, and the honeysuckle, are met with, the soil is of the very best quality; the Mimosa prefers a lighter earth, more sandy and loose. It may truly be said, that there exist in Australia Felix, in almost every direction, thousands of acres of soil of the best quality, ready for the plough, without needing the expense of a shilling in clearing. The further north you proceed, the more does the proportion of prime land diminish; and in the direction of New South Wales, the country also becomes more mountainous, losing the park-like appearance general in the south. The quality of the land of Port Phillip warrants the hope of seeing a large population settled upon it, capable of supplying themselves in profusion with all the necessaries, if not the luxuries, of life.

Situated four degrees to the southward of Sydney, Port Phillip is neither exposed to the excessive heat, the hot winds, nor the long-continued droughts of New South

Wales. Although from the short period Port Phillip has been settled, there has scarcely been time to test its exemption from droughts, yet we know that in 1837, 1838, and 1839, when no rain fell in New South Wales, its southern neighbour was visited with frequent and refreshing showers.

Buckley, a white man who dwelt thirty years with the Aborigines, has declared that no one year of that period passed without frequent rain in Australia Felix. It is worth while mentioning here, that Buckley had been originally a convict, and was but a lad when he escaped in 1804 from the Ocean, one of two ships which put into Port Phillip Bay in that year, for the purpose of forming a penal settlement there, but departed without effecting that object, in consequence of not finding fresh water. Buckley was adopted by the Aborigines, assumed their habits and customs, and continued to dwell amongst them until, in the year 1834, he was discovered by a party of settlers who fell in with the Aboriginal tribe that had adopted him. He was of some service during the first days of the colony, in communicating with the natives, acting as a guide, and affording information to the settlers with regard to the nature of the country, with which, from the wandering habits of the Aborigines, he was well acquainted.

Not only is the dissimilarity of the climate of Australia Felix from that of New South Wales to be accounted for by the difference in latitude, but by another and equally sufficient reason.

The former may be said to be the most southern of the main-land of New Holland. Now, for three parts of the year a south-west wind prevails, which brings up the clouds from the Southern Ocean, condensing vapour as

they pass along, until breaking on the shores of Australia Felix, they discharge themselves in rain over that district, refreshing it with copious showers during the greater part of the year. June, July, August and September are generally the wettest months; but occasionally, even in the midst of summer, sudden thunder-storms occur, when the rain falls in a perfect deluge.

In summer, although the heat reaches at times to 95° in the shade, yet it is not very oppressive, from a lightness and buoyancy in the atmosphere not usually met with in tropical climates. The winter in Australia Felix is by no means severe: frost is almost unknown, yet at times there is a sharp white hoar frost crisping the water with ice, but this vanishes before the first rays of the sun. The mornings and evenings are often, during the winter season,—which is directly at variance with the same period in England, July here being the middle of winter—intensely cold, making not only warm clothes, but a fire, absolutely necessary. This may be attributed to the great heat of the day at times, and the rapid transitions from one state of temperature to its opposite extreme.

From twelve to four o'clock, even in winter, the day is very warm, the thermometer in the shade frequently standing at 80°, whilst its fall is very rapid as soon as darkness begins to set in. Spring and autumn are neither of long continuance, and are rendered less perceptible as they approach or pass away, through most of the trees and shrubs being evergreens. The curious phenomenon of the *mirage* is often to be witnessed in Australia Felix, particularly towards the sea-coast, at times converting to all appearance

the country as far as the eye can reach, into a vast lake, from which the tops of trees show themselves at intervals, making one imagine that the remaining portions of them were sunk beneath the waters. The illusion is occasioned by what may be not inaptly termed liquid air of great density, resting near the surface of the earth, from which the vapour has been drawn by the heat of the sun. The *mirage* presents itself in different forms, reflecting on the sky distant objects and causing strange optical illusions.

Altogether the climate of Australia Felix is most propitious. The heat of summer however is considerable: hot winds occasionally occur, but they are never of long duration or so extreme as in the more northern colony, and the heat is tempered by occasional refreshing showers.

The great staple of Australia Felix is its wool; but tallow, hides, bark, gum of fine quality, horns, whale oil and live stock form most important items in the list of its exports. Grain has also been of late grown for exportation, and the quality of the wheat has been pronounced in both the London and Liverpool markets to surpass the very best samples of Silesian: its weight averages upwards of sixty pounds to the bushel.

The market-price of the best wheat in May last year, was at Melbourne, about 4s. 6d. per bushel, some rather extensive exportations of it having taken place to England, in the preceding twelve months. Both soil and climate being peculiarly adapted to the cultivation of the vine, the attention of many settlers has within the last three years been turned to the growth of the grape, and their exertions have met with much success.

In the Geelong district, on the banks of the Barwon River and amongst the Barrabool Hills, there are several families of Swiss and German *vignerons* who chiefly devote their time to the cultivation of the grape; and in the year 1847 they had produced upwards of 50,000 gallons of wine, of a light and pleasant quality, well suited for use in the colony. The Palma Christi and the Olive have also been planted by these people, and promise to attain much perfection, the soil being most suitable.

At present, no conception can be formed of what may be the ultimate prosperity and importance of a large tract of country, from the banks of the rivers Barwon and Leigh, extending westward as far as the Glenelg River, near the South Australian boundary; the length of this tract is about 150 miles, its breadth varying from 30 to 80 miles. Much has been both said and written of the general bad quality of Australian land, particularly in New South Wales: the latter being chiefly, according to Sir Thomas Mitchell, a vast agglomeration of sandstone mountains and their *débris*, from Cape Howe on the south-east coast, northwards to Moreton Bay; whereas a large portion of the surface of Australia Felix, is one mass of decomposed lava, forming a soil which it is impossible to surpass.

It is a well-known fact, that the soil around the foot of Mount Vesuvius produces not only the richest crops of the grape, olives and other fruit, but also corn and various kinds of grain—this extraordinary fertility, arising from the surface of the land being nothing else than decomposed lava. Many hills or cones, varying in elevation from 2 to 800 feet are scattered over this district, all of which

have formed the issues from whence, by an extensive volcanic process of nature, the surrounding country has been flooded with that matter which, by decomposition, has become soil of the richest quality. On the summits of numbers of these hills, the craters are yet clearly traceable; and whole masses of cellular lava, which have more successfully resisted the weather than the *débris* around, are found on the sides or near their feet. These mounts or cones are chiefly isolated, rising abruptly from the gently undulating plains around. But little timber exists on land of this formation, and that of a small kind, offering no impediment to the first cultivator proceeding to turn up the virgin soil. The timber is generally what is called in the colony the lightwood and honeysuckle, but here and there are to be met with groups and clusters of a tree called by the Aborigines the “shiac,” by the whites “the she-oak.” This tree, seldom above thirty feet in height, with a thick globular head of numerous branches, has a peculiar and strange appearance, being totally devoid of leaves, but having instead thick locks of long jointed, wiry, thin, grass-like vegetation, through which the wind sweeps and sighs with a particularly mournful sound.

This rich and fertile tract, extending across part of the Geelong district and the heads of the Port Fairy and Portland Bay settlements, is watered by numerous streams or small rivers and lakes, some of the latter being of considerable size. Several of these lakes are salt, and what is yet more singular, some of them are perfectly salt in one part and fresh in another, the nature of the soil causing this peculiarity.

In the summer season, the chief part of the rivers cease

to flow ; they then form into large and deep water holes, which yield an abundant supply of the pure element : the depth of the holes preventing even the greatest evaporation from entirely clearing them of water. The lakes too are many of them dried up, and in the bed of the salt ones native salt is found, in some instances, crystallized to the depth of six inches on the surface. This salt is not only used by the settlers, but is collected for sale in the markets of Geelong and Melbourne : it is particularly pure and good, and brings somewhere about £3 per ton, in the colony, for the purposes of curing provisions and domestic use.

This extraordinary rich lava district comprising an area of, at a fair calculation, from 9 to 10,000 square miles, is at present all but uninhabited ; a few thousand people only are scattered over its vast extent, engaged in pastoral pursuits, with a few farmers in the vicinity of Geelong. Sheep and cattle range at will over its rich, beautiful, undulating surface, browsing on the natural pasturage, which is, however, found generally too rich for sheep ; but for these the hilly country to the northward of this district, among the Grampians and Pyrenees, offer a boundless range of suitable land.

Having travelled in all quarters of the globe—bivouacked on the rich plains of Natal, in Southern Africa, found a resting-place, for a time, on the fertile banks of the Mississippi, and toiled over the hills and gulleys of New Zealand—the writer can pronounce, with confidence, that not even the richest soil of the most fruitful lands can surpass the splendid district of Australia Felix referred to, in their capabilities of produce. Even the most fertile parts of Devonshire or Kent are not able to support a



larger population, per square mile, than this lava district. Many times in riding over its rich, dark red, soil, the author has deplored its present want of population, knowing that myriads in Great Britain are all but perishing of hunger, or with straitened means and small capital, are endeavouring to keep up an appearance, when many amongst them might be here settled on moderate sized farms, and a much greater number as labourers, with plenty and contentment around them.

The crops of wheat raised by the settlers and squatters in this district have been very large, although the land is neither manured, sub-soiled, nor drained—the simplest mode of culture being pursued, and Nature left to do the rest. The writer has witnessed, in the vicinity of Lake Colac, a crop of wheat reaped which yielded fifty bushels to the acre; this certainly was extraordinary, but not confined to this rich district. He has, in 1840, seen a crop of wheat of upwards of twenty acres, on the banks of River Plenty—a stream running into the Yarra Yarra to the northward and eastward of Melbourne—which yielded in the aggregate fifty-three bushels per acre; this was on the farm of a Mr. Coulstock, from Somersetshire, now deceased.

But with the land only half cultivated, such a yield is of common occurrence, and it was given in evidence before a Committee of the Legislative Assembly in September 1845, that such are the facilities of production, from the land being clear, and from its richness, that wheat can be grown by the farmer, and pay well at four shillings per bushel.

Experiments have been tried with tobacco, which succeeds well in Australia Felix, but as yet it has been cultivated to no great extent, through scarcity of labour.

Of late, native flax has been discovered growing extensively near the Glenelg River ; it has also been found on the wet lands of Western Port. It is not like the New Zealand flax, but of a much finer kind, and suitable for the manufacture of linens, cambrics, &c. The Aborigines have, in some cases, turned it to use in making baskets and fishing-nets, and it cannot be doubted that it may be largely grown on the low lands of the colony, with much profit and advantage.

The most valuable gum exported is produced by the *Mimosa*, and is much thought of in the home markets, being very nearly equal in quality to gum arabic, and, in fact, now chiefly used instead of it. The *Mimosa* also produces bark possessing great tanning properties, much of which has been imported into Great Britain.

But what, above all other things, is likely to render Australia Felix great, prosperous, and wealthy, are the late mineral discoveries that have taken place.

It had been known for years that coal existed in the neighbourhood of Western Port ; and some distance in the interior a few samples of copper have been found, both in the vicinity of Mount Macedon, and high up on the Yarra Yarra River, towards its source ; but no one thought, or hoped, that in the neighbourhood of the sea-coast itself, there should be found coal, copper, and lead, in such abundance and richness, as to give rise to the wildest dreams of future wealth and prosperity for the colony.

In 1846, in consequence of some wrecks which occurred, the Executive resolved to erect a light-house on Cape Otway, in latitude  $38^{\circ} 50'$ , and longitude  $143^{\circ} 30'$ .

This Cape may be said to form the north-western headland of Bass's Straits, and its high bluff promontory offers a capital site for the much-required light-house, which will serve as a guide into the Straits from the westward; the tower for the lantern is now in progress, in fact, probably finished by this date.

Cape Otway, on the land side, is separated from the settled parts of the interior by a dense forest of timber of great size, and an under-brush or scrub of vines, shrubs, and creeping plants, so thick and close as to render all attempts to penetrate it most difficult. In consequence, being unfit for sheep or cattle, it was neglected by the squatters, and remained unexplored. The belt of dense bush is about one hundred miles long, and from twenty to forty miles wide, extending on either side of Cape Otway. It being impossible to communicate with Cape Otway by sea, the coast being unexplored, it became necessary to reach it by land, and for this purpose several expeditions were sent forth by the Executive. One of these succeeded in attaining the Cape with great difficulty, from the northward, whilst another, with less trouble, proceeded along the sea-shore, from the eastward to the Cape.

For nearly sixty miles along the coast, coal was found in seams four and five feet in thickness, running north-west and south-east, for five hundred feet and more in length. In the immediate vicinity of this coal-country, to the eastward, both copper and lead were found to abound; and the writer has seen, since his arrival in England, several specimens of copper ore found there,

which proved to contain from forty-three to fifty per cent copper. The lead ore is also very rich.

Since these mineral discoveries, the coast has been further explored, and numerous bays discovered, where the mineral produce of the vicinity may be embarked. These bays are none of them very extensive, but they offer, it is said, fair anchorage for vessels, being protected from all winds but those from the eastward, which are of rare occurrence. Coal and the other minerals are situated within eight miles of the coast, and therefore easily available.

The vast mineral wealth of South Australia, particularly in copper, had of late years surprised the public, as well as yielded great wealth to the colonists, who are now, indeed, on the high road to prosperity; but these recent discoveries bid fair to rival the mineral riches of that colony, more particularly as coal is found in such near connection with copper and lead in Australia Felix.

With its extensive agricultural tracts, ready for the plough, its vast pastoral hills and plains, and its valuable and rich mineral resources, a bright destiny is opened to Australia Felix, which it only requires population to develop. That desirable object, a home market, is from these mineral discoveries certain to be established, in time, for agricultural and pastoral produce, an additional reason why an extensive population should be settled on the agricultural lands of Australia Felix, so rich and tempting: millions of acres of Crown lands, undisposed of, are capable of supporting an immense population; but where millions might be located, thousands now scarcely dwell. The soil and climate are capable of raising

all that southern European countries yield, as well as several of the productions of tropical climes. The vine and the olive alike flourish to perfection, the mulberry succeeds, and the silk-worm may be extensively bred, whilst tobacco, flax, and many other plants, might afford illimitable sources of wealth to an industrious population. But, although all these advantages exist in such abundance, the people of Great Britain seem to be unacquainted with them, or do not possess the means to convey themselves in adequate numbers to a country of so much promise.

At the present time, in this colony, there are thousands of legs of mutton and rounds of beef retailed in the vicinity of the boiling-down establishments at from one penny to two-pence per pound: not being worth putting into the melting-vat, from the large proportion of lean in those parts of the animals; but although such is the fact, thousands of families living at home on small incomes, who can scarcely in the week afford a couple of joints of prime meat, linger out their lives without exerting their energy to remove to a country where their limited capital, judiciously laid out, would procure them in plenty all the necessaries of life, and afford to many amongst them the prospect of ultimate wealth.

In 1837, the year of the official settlement of Australia Felix, when land was first sold by the Crown, the exports of the colony amounted to £12,180, which was almost entirely in wool and oil. For the same year, the imports, a large portion of which were live stock, were, in value, £108,939, about nine times the value of the exports. In 1840 the great tide of immigration flowed into the

colony; in that and the following year the imports and exports had both vastly increased, and become more assimilated in value, being—

1840 Imports	£392,000	Exports	£154,600.
1841 Ditto	£335,250	Ditto	£139,130.

In 1837, the exportation of wool amounted to, in round numbers, 175,000lbs., in 1840 it was 930,000lbs., whilst in 1845 it reached to about 5,500,000lbs., and in the present year, 1848, it is expected to amount to ten million pounds weight. This, indeed, is an extraordinary increase, when it is remembered, that in 1834 the first sheep and cattle were landed on the shores of Australia Felix. In the space between the months of December, 1845, and May, 1846, both inclusive, the exports from the colony to foreign ports, not including the colonial trade, were as follow :—

Wool . . .	6,212,500lbs.
Mimosa Bark . .	534 tons.
Tallow . . .	184 casks.
Bones . . .	31 tons.
Hides . . .	1,956 in number.
Logs of Gum Wood .	229 in number.
Wheat . . .	16,200 bushels.

This does not include the coasting, or Van Dieman's Land trade; the quantity of live stock shipped to the latter place and to New Zealand being very large. The months included in the above return are properly the wool shipping season, and therefore the chief produce of that article would be exported at that time.

In consequence of the official returns of Australia Felix



being generally mixed up with those of New South Wales, it is most difficult to obtain them.

In 1844, the imports of Australia Felix were but £151,062, more than one hundred thousand pounds less than the value of the exports; in 1846 the imports were still considerably under two hundred thousand pounds, whilst the exports actually nearly doubled that amount in value.

In the history of the British Colonies no such example of rapid progress can be adduced: in ten years after the official settlement of the colony, the exports amounting to near £400,000, with a population of only 32,000 persons.

The ordinary revenue of the colony, which in 1837 only amounted to £2,358 15s. 10*d.*, reached in 1841 to no less than £81,673 10s. 4*d.*: but that was at a period of unnatural importations, which, with other causes, led to the monetary sufferings of the colony in 1843, and the subsequent year. It appears, that up to January, 1846, the entire Government expenditure for the colony from its foundation, exclusive of emigration, had not only been in the aggregate met by the revenue, but at that period there absolutely was a balance in favour of the colony from the ordinary revenue, to the amount of about £20,000 sterling, exclusive of the fund derived from the Crown lands.

The revenue of 1847, for the district of Australia Felix, would probably amount to about £70,000, exclusive of that from the Crown lands, whilst the expenditure would be under £60,000 for the same period, so that, in the



fullest sense of the word, Australia Felix is a self-supporting colony, and indeed rather more, for at present, New South Wales partakes in the benefit of the surplus revenue of her prosperous dependency.

The capital drawn from the pockets of the settlers in Australia Felix has been truly immense, sufficient indeed to have put a permanent check to its prosperity, very large amounts having been absolutely withdrawn from the circulation of the place, in order to introduce labour. When the first sale of Crown lands in the colony took place at Melbourne in June of 1837, town allotments to the number of one hundred were disposed of; the allotments were each half an acre in extent, and the sum realised for the entire was £3,712 14s. 0d.: the price varying from £15 to £95 per allotment, according to situation; but still the prices given at that sale were looked upon by the colonists as reasonable, and no complaints were consequently made.

At that period Sir Richard Bourke was Governor of New South Wales, and land was offered for sale in proportion to the wants of the people; the consequence was, that the allotments brought a moderate price, which the inhabitants were able to pay without detriment to their interests.

But Sir Richard Bourke's term of office expired, and he was replaced by Sir George Gipps, the late Governor, who ruled New South Wales for nearly nine years.

This gentleman, who was an officer of engineers, from the first exercised a prejudicial influence over the interests and prosperity of Australia Felix; his main scheme of government appears to have been to wring from the

colonists the utmost farthing for Crown lands, thereby ingratiating himself into favour with the Home authorities by placing at their disposal vast sums for the purposes of emigration. However in his zeal for this object, the golden goose was killed, and the revenue from the sale of Crown lands dwindled down, until it has become small indeed.

But not only was this anxiety for the increase of the land fund manifested by Sir George, he also adopted a system of centralization: the sales of land, which were made by auction in all cases, at that period, were after the accession of Sir George, removed to Sydney, and the people of Port Phillip had either to buy at second-hand, or go to Sydney to attend the land sales. This continued for the space of about one year and a half, to the great annoyance and detriment of the residents, and the evident encouragement of Sydney speculators to compete in the purchase of Crown lands, for the purpose of retailing them at an increased value in the district itself. Consequently many of the Sydney merchants and men of capital became the largest purchasers of Crown lands in Australia Felix, and some still continue extensive proprietors; but the greater portion cut up both their town and country allotments into smaller sections, retailing them at an exorbitant profit to the new arrivals, who were thus deprived of those facilities of acquiring land at its fair value which should be afforded to every emigrant on arrival in a new country or colony. The supply of land moreover was short in proportion to the demand. The country as far as it was surveyed was not thrown open freely for sale; for such a mode of management would not have aided competition at the auctions.

Sir George Gipps doled out at the Government land sales, both town allotments and country sections, in such a small proportion to the demand, that excessive competition was the result, wild speculation was promoted, and the most exorbitant prices obtained for the lands sold.

The following is an abstract of a return moved for by the Rev. Dr. Lang, in the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales :

## PROCEEDS OF THE SALE OF CROWN LANDS IN AUSTRALIA FELIX.

	Country Suburban Lands			Town Allotments			• Total		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1837	.	.	.	3,712	14	0	3,712	14	0
1838	25,287	17	9	11,906	14	3	37,194	12	0
1839	50,986	11	11	9,008	2	8	59,994	14	7
1840	136,584	6	3	82,543	10	3	219,127	16	6
1841	68,435	7	0	2,716	14	3	71,152	1	3
1842	2,000	0	0	729	12	8	2,729	12	8
Grand total	£283,294	2	11	£110,617	8	1	£393,911	11	0

Since the close of 1842, particularly during the years 1843, 1844, and 1845, the amount of the land sales has been very small; in the aggregate, up to the close of 1846, perhaps not exceeding £18,000.

Of the vast sum obtained for the Crown Lands of Australia Felix up to the close of 1842, there was expended in emigration the following amounts viz:—

1838	.	.	.	£844	0	0
1839	.	.	.	11,824	11	4
1840	.	.	.	27,919	12	6
1841	.	.	.	125,965	12	10
1842	.	.	.	37,892	8	4½
Total				£204,446	5	0½

This large sum was the cost of emigration to Australia Felix alone, in the above-mentioned years ; the balance of the produce of the Crown Lands' Sales, amounting to the great sum of £189,465, either went to import labour into other parts of New South Wales, to improve the roads of the elder colony, and to build bridges, or beautify and form the streets of Sydney ; no portion of it was expended in Australia Felix. The very streets of Melbourne, Geelong, and Portland, were left in a state of nature, and the roads of the colony unformed, whilst this vast sum, raised from the people of Australia Felix, its landowners, merchants, and shop-keepers, was expended in or on behalf of the old felon colony with its convict-made roads, streets, and public buildings. In pursuing his system of centralization, Sir George Gipps expended the money of the people of Melbourne on the Circular Wharf and other improvements in the City of Sydney, leaving the inhabitants of Melbourne to wallow through three feet of mire in their own streets intersecting the town allotments that had cost so much of their money.

For the town allotments in Melbourne alone, there has been paid to the Executive the sum of £80,000, exclusive of from £40 to £50,000 more, the produce of suburban sections in the immediate vicinity of the town.

Portland has produced in town allotments £11,000, Geelong in town allotments £12,784, and Williams Town £7,638. Belfast and the other minor townships, from being only lately settled, have merely yielded an inconsiderable sum. The land harvest had ceased, before those townships were disposed of.

to the Executive for town allotments, the sum actually wrung from the industrious population by speculators and dealers in land has been much greater, certainly double what passed into the coffers of the Crown. Moreover, further mischief was caused to the purchasers of town allotments, by Sir George Gipps not expending,—as he was directed to do by the Colonial Secretary for the time being, Lord John Russell,—the entire of the revenue derived from the sale of Crown Lands in the district of Australia Felix, for the purposes of emigration to that place alone. But these orders were not obeyed, and a wilful Governor deprived the purchasers of town allotments of the services of the ten thousand individuals whom the £189,465, so strangely appropriated to other uses, would have introduced. In consequence, in the erection of houses and all other works in the district, exorbitant wages were paid to mechanics and labourers down to the close of 1841, and many of the earlier buildings of Melbourne have cost in the erection sums that would not now be credited. At the first land sale of 1837, the upset price of the town allotments was £30 per acre; but in 1839 this was actually raised by Sir George Gipps to £300 per acre, for waste and timbered land without a single improvement. Previous to 1839, the minimum price of waste country-land was 5s. per acre; in that year it was raised to 12s., and in 1840 to £1 per acre; in 1842 it was again lowered to 12s., but, in 1843, once more raised to £1 per acre as a minimum price, at which it at present continues. But it may even bring more, for all land must be put up to auction at the minimum price as a reserve, and disposed of to the highest

bidder. Any party has liberty to purchase at the upset price, afterwards, land which has been once put up by auction, but remains unsold.

The upset price of suburban lands has been and still is regulated by situation and other circumstances; all lands within two miles of the towns are included in the suburban allotments; and those even outside of that boundary and within seven miles, are put up at an increase on the upset price of country lands.

The upset price of the Crown allotments in Melbourne, continues to be £300 per acre; at the height of the land-mania many of the half-acre allotments at the Government sales brought from six to eight hundred pounds each; land has even been privately disposed of, in good situations and in small lots, which has fetched as much as £35 per foot frontage. The average price brought by eighty-four allotments sold by Government at the sale in June 1840, in the town of Melbourne, was £445 per half-acre allotment, being in the aggregate £37,401 3s. 0d.

But those days of folly and wild speculation have long since passed away; the people suffered much for the infatuation into which they allowed themselves to be led, by Sir George Gipps doling out such small portions of land, in a country where the soil was all in the hands of the Crown: a monopoly with which none could compete.

At present, the people of Australia Felix have a salutary dread of all land speculations, and the few Crown Waste Lands' sales pass off quietly and without any excitement; the purchasers being almost exclusively such as personally require the soil for cultivation, or the purposes of building.



This is as it should be: the cultivator is permitted to purchase without competition with the speculator who only comes into the market to re-sell. But we repeat, there is still a great evil in the management of the Crown lands in Australia Felix—the country sections are not at present set up in sufficiently small lots; six hundred and forty acres is the size, and that is too extensive for a man of limited means to purchase. Let them be reduced to one hundred and fifty, or two hundred acres; then if the man of capital wishes to have six or seven hundred acres, he can obtain them by purchasing three or four of these reduced sections, but the person of limited means will thus not be precluded from competing for the soil. Suburban and other lands, in the vicinity of townships, are at present divided into sections of every size, from three or four up to one hundred acres, the upset price varying, as already stated, according to situation.

Much has been said of the price of Crown lands in the Australian colonies, the complaints being many and loud of the excessiveness of the present upset price. These complaints, no doubt, are just and true, as far as regards New South Wales especially, and indeed all such land as is only suited for pastoral purposes; for it cannot pay to purchase land at anything above a mere nominal price to graze stock upon, either sheep or cattle. But it is not reasonable to suppose, that millions of acres of the richest soil that exists in Australia Felix, capable of producing in excess all the necessaries of life for man, and supporting myriads of human beings, should be abandoned for the flocks and herds of the squatters to range undisturbed



The squatting system, particularly on the prime lands, should only be permitted as a state of transition ; it should not be permanently saddled on this splendid country, shutting out its rich and fertile plains from the use of man for agricultural purposes. Not one acre of Australia Felix, south of the thirty-sixth degree of latitude, should be permitted, at least for many long years to come, to pass into the proprietorship of any one at a less price than one pound per acre.

This would have the effect of preserving the soil southward of that boundary, fully one-half of which is capable of cultivation by an agricultural population ; the squatters would still have a vast region to the northward, besides having present occupation of the rich tracts it would be advisable to reserve.

A Waste Crown Lands' Act was passed through the British Parliament in 1846. By this Act, permanency will be given to the tenancy of squatters, which it will be ultimately impossible to change ; leases of fourteen years will be accorded for a mere nominal rent ; and thus it is much to be dreaded, that many of the fertile plains of Australia Felix will be preserved for purely pastoral purposes.

In no country on the face of the globe is there a better field for the settlement of a large population in plenty and prosperity than the volcanic slopes and hills of Australia Felix ; and much, indeed, is it to be hoped that this region will not be closed up by the permanent tenancy of men who only require it for their flocks and herds to range over, leaving the land in the natural state in which they found it. The present popu-

lation of Australia Felix, including the district of Gipps' Land, which is now under the jurisdiction of the Superintendent at Port Phillip, was, according to the last census, taken in 1846, as follows, viz.:—

County of Bourke, including Melbourne	17,350
County of Grant, including Geelong	3,870
County of Normanby, Portland, and Port Fairy	5,740
The Western Port district	3,525
The Murray district	1,558
Gipps' Land	852
Total population, March, 1846	32,895

Since then, there has been a continued influx of persons from Van Dieman's Land, but, unhappily for the morality of Australia Felix, these people were almost exclusively expirée convicts, or persons who, under the probation system at present in force in that island, are permitted the indulgence of crossing to the main land of Australia, on condition of not returning to Great Britain.

Such, indeed, has become the demand for labour in Australia Felix, that numerous associations of squatters have been formed, who amongst them subscribe funds for giving a free passage from Van Dieman's Land, across Bass's Straits, to Port Phillip, to all such of the labouring population of that island as wish to take advantage of it. Although the passage is bestowed free of all charge, yet the passenger is permitted on arrival, to engage with whom he may think fit, whether he be a person who has contributed to those associations or otherwise.

In 1845 and 1846, upwards of four thousand five hundred persons left Van Dieman's Land for Australia Felix; and of these it might be fairly calculated four-fifths

had been, at some period or another, convicts,—hundreds of them, in fact, just released from bondage. Yet, in Port Phillip there is no means by which these men may be distinguished, except their countenance, which certainly, hardened and dried up by excessive exposure and suffering, often presents a strong indication of their previous fate. It is truly a pity, to see the inhabitants of Australia Felix actually introducing at their own expense a felon population, likely to demoralize and pervert society. Yet what else can the settlers and squatters do? The introduction of these people is as repugnant to their feelings as possible, but they are compelled to have recourse to this admitted evil, for otherwise their flocks and herds, as they increase, would be without shepherds or stockmen to tend them; the crops of the earth could not be collected, or the many other duties of labour performed without these weekly, monthly, importations of crime and felony from the convict depôt of Van Dieman's Land. Meanwhile thousands are all but on the brink of starvation in Great Britain and Ireland, who could equally well, as these liberated felons, perform the services required by the settlers and squatters; but, alas! they have no mode of reaching the desired destination:—they must linger out their existence under the tender mercies of the Poor Law, when the very sum expended on them in five years' out-door relief would not serve to convey them to Australia Felix, but, if properly applied, enable them to settle as individual cultivators on its fertile lands.

The justice of our present laws dooms the man who has his labour alone to depend on, in Great Britain, to a life of toil; and when sickness or age comes upon him,

to a refuge in the workhouse, separated from those near and dear to him in the world—his wife and children. But the convict is sent to a distant land, where his labour is of such value—after the lapse of a few years, when he will be enabled to apply his labour for his own individual benefit—as to place him in a position to acquire that competence and comfort denied to the virtuous cultivator of the soil at home, or the quiet mechanic or artisan who, in case of the occurrence of many common casualties, has but a parish grave to look forward to, as a final resting-place.

And not only would the transfer of thousands of the pauper and middle classes of Great Britain to Australia Felix relieve the mother country of a large proportion of the excessive poor rates, but it would actually extend vastly the market for British manufactures in Australia, thereby creating increased employment for our manufacturing classes, and adding to the wealth of England.

At the present time, Great Britain possesses no such market for its manufactures, in proportion to the extent of its population, as New South Wales and Australia Felix. The average importations of the last seven years, have shown a value of about £7. 10s. per annum for each individual, five times more than is exhibited by the returns of British North America; and of this £7. 10s., at least two thirds is for British manufactured goods of various kinds.

Is it not, therefore, highly for the interests of Great Britain that this great consuming-market should be extended and extended it can be, by one means, and that

alone—Population. The superabundant masses that prey on the vitals of our fatherland, absorbing such a large per centage of the annual income, in the support of pauperism, only require to be conveyed to the fertile plains of Australia Felix, and settled on its rich soil, to make one of the largest and very best markets for the British manufacturer on the face of the globe.

At present, in consequence of the very limited number of the population, one half nearly of whom dwell in the different townships, the extent of land in cultivation in Australia Felix is moderate, although considerable in proportion to the inhabitants. The chief agricultural produce raised, is wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, Indian corn or maize, and peas. In the county of Bourke, with a population including the capital of upwards of 17,000 but with a country population of only 6,376, there is considerably more than 12,000 acres under crop, 6,500 of which is wheat.

In the county of Grant, or the Geelong district, there is rather more than 4,700 acres in tillage, chiefly wheat and potatoes; there is also in the vicinity of Geelong, at least 120 acres under the vine, or in course of being planted. The decomposed lava on the sides of the Barrabool Hills is peculiarly suited to the growth of the vine, and it is here that its present cultivation is chiefly carried on; but it is however, rapidly extending to many other parts of the colony.

In the neighbourhood of Port Fairy and Portland Bay, the cultivation is limited, both on account of the scanty population and the fact of little land being as yet sold in the neighbourhood. Yet the produce of those two places is

more than sufficient for the wants of the residents, and considerable shipments of wheat, barley, and potatoes, are made to Melbourne and other places.

In the Western Port neighbourhood, as it is all over the country where the land is not as yet sold, the growth of agricultural produce is chiefly confined to the wants of the stations, where sheep and cattle are tended.

Gipps' Land, with its 800 inhabitants, produces only sufficient grain for its own consumption; the chief employment of the people is in tending the extensive herds and flocks there pastured.

But although, on the whole, the cultivation of Australia Felix is not extensive, its inhabitants being chiefly resident in the towns or engaged in pastoral pursuits, yet it already raises very much more agricultural produce than the wants of the colony require.



## CHAPTER II.

MELBOURNE; EXTENT, SITUATION, POPULATION, MUNICIPAL PRIVILEGES AND RIGHTS—GEELONG, BELFAST, AND PORTLAND, NEW TOWNSHIPS — RATES OF WAGES — PRICES OF PROVISIONS AND GOODS.

BATMAN'S HILL, on the verge of the present town of Melbourne, originally pitched upon by the first settler in this part of Australia Felix—whose name it bears—as the location of his future home, was admirably chosen, and reflects credit on that enterprising individual who lived but a short time to enjoy the result of his exertions.

As already mentioned, the access by water to Melbourne is up a small but deep river, called the Yarra Yarra—its Aboriginal as well as English name; to within half a mile of the town, the banks of the river, low and marshy, are thickly covered with tea-tree scrub, tall poles in appearance, with a few ragged branches, and scattered wiry, thin leaves on the top, some twenty feet from the ground. Reeds and creeping plants fill up the interstices, and this scrub is quite impenetrable to the eye.

Melbourne lies on and between two hills, which slope gradually to a level near the banks of the river; their



elevation is not great, but yet sufficiently so as to give to the traveller, from the top of either, a distinct view of the entire town.

On one side, the river is the boundary, or rather the open flat space along the river, which is reserved by the Government undisposed of. The town of Melbourne is regularly laid out. Four main or principal streets run parallel to the course of the river; they are called, Flinders, Collins, Bourke, and Lonsdale Streets, each perpetuating the name of some individual connected with the first days of the settlement, or its discovery. At present, these streets are each about a mile long, but if required, they may be extended *ad libitum* at both ends. Including the foot-ways, they are between eighty and ninety feet wide. Parallel with and between each of these main streets, are three small streets, or rather lanes, about thirty feet wide; excluding the latter of the above-mentioned streets, these lanes bear the same names, with the prefix of "little." Running at right angles across these streets, parallel to the river, are eight others, nearly due north and south. The chief of those is Elizabeth Street, the widest in the town, and the greatest thoroughfare, as it traverses its centre and is the main road to the interior, northward. This street lies directly in a hollow, between the two hills of the town; and it may be said, that it not only acts as the principal thoroughfare, but that also it serves as a main channel, into which the rains flow from the surrounding hills, completely flooding it at times, ploughing up its surface, and cutting channels of several feet in depth into

certain seasons, and as the corporation of Melbourne are rapidly improving the streets, they are about to form surface sewers to remedy the evil. The length of Elizabeth Street is about half a mile, which is that also of all the other cross streets.

The chief part of the houses are built of wood : but these were erected in the first days of the settlement, when bricks and labour were alike excessively dear. Wooden houses are seldom, if ever, built in the town at present. In the main thoroughfares, Collins Street and Elizabeth Street particularly, the wooden houses are completely giving place to permanent stone and brick buildings, standing close together, as in the towns of Europe. Many of the shops are large spacious buildings, equal to any in the provincial towns of England. • The hotels and inns also are of considerable extent : one of these, the Royal Hotel in Collins Street, is capable of accommodating fifty or sixty individuals in the most comfortable, if not luxurious way.

The religious edifices consist of a noble Episcopalian church, as yet unfinished, built of solid ironstone. When the interior of this is completed, it will reflect credit on the town, but the work has of late years tardidly progressed. Now, however, that a Bishop's See has been erected at Melbourne, it is to be hoped that this will be remedied.

The Roman Catholic chapel, standing in Lonsdale Street, lies rather low, but in a central situation ; it is built of brick, and although only a portion of it is yet erected, divine service is celebrated therein. The edifice is on a large scale, and stands on an extensive plot of ground, on which are also built the chapel house and schools. The Presbyterians,

the Independents, the Wesleyans, and the Baptists, all possess commodious places of worship in Melbourne, besides schools that accommodate large numbers of children. The Jews also have a synagogue.

The sites for all the places of worship have been free grants from the Crown, through the colonial Governor for the time being ; and monetary assistance has been afforded in the erection of the buildings from the funds of the colonial treasury, in proportion to the sum voluntarily raised by the inhabitants. The public buildings of Melbourne are not many in number ; but when they are taken into consideration with the length of time the colony has been settled, they are truly surprising. The Custom House, which stands at the foot of an open space called the Market Square, facing the river and close to the wharf, is a neat stone building, plain, but massive, and well suited for the purpose to which it is applied.

The Court House, standing on an open eminence facing Lonsdale Street, on the north side of the town, is built of a light-coloured soft stone, easily worked, but acquiring hardness by exposure to the weather. It is a building of size and some beauty, containing a large central court, and numerous chambers and offices.

The Public Gaol is close behind the Court, and will form when completed a massive pile of great dimensions ; although but one wing of the projected building has yet been completed, it is more than sufficient for the probable requirements of the colony for very many years to come. The wing erected is built of iron stone of a dark red colour ; the walls are of great thickness and solidity, and four stories of cells, some

approach to the cells is by open balconies, which are lit from the space left between the roofs of the cells at either side. A very large number of prisoners could be accommodated, and escape would seem to be a matter of impossibility. The cost of erection of the one wing exceeded £20,000, and the Court House caused an expenditure of nearly the same sum.

When the Sydney authorities planned the Gaol of Melbourne, they must have had in contemplation that Australia Felix would become a felon-settlement like New South Wales, for nothing else would warrant or suggest such an edifice as they proposed, one wing of which is likely to suffice for an indefinite period. It is to be regretted that three parts of the cost was not spent in the erection of schools, a bridge over the Yarra Yarra, or many other much-required works. The situation of both Gaol and Court House is high and healthy, overlooking the town and, in the distance, the tranquil waters of Port Phillip Bay.

The old gaol, a brick building in use before the present was erected, is converted into a House of Correction, where petty larceny scamps and other such rogues may amuse themselves by walking up stairs for an hour or two without intermission. For three or four years, there existed no mode of carrying out sentences of imprisonment to which hard labour was attached; then the tread-mill was ordered, and held forth *in terrorem* to offenders; but, when completed, and the prisoners placed upon it, it would not work — the shaft gave way; and although from week to week the attempt to make the prisoners work upon it was renewed, it was not

until sundry changes and improvements had been effected, and twelve months had elapsed, that it proved something more than a source of ridicule to those it was intended to punish.

The public offices have generally been, until lately, merely temporary buildings; but others have been erected on a hill where the telegraph-station stands. These offices are handsome and commodious. A Mechanics' Institution has been built in Collins Street, by subscription: it is a large edifice, having a room capable of containing 500 people, but is at present burdened with a debt of £1500 or £1600. It possesses the nucleus of a library in a few hundred volumes, and occasional lectures are given there. The Institution gets an annual grant of £150, from the Colonial Treasury. The chief part of the Mechanics' Institute is rented by the Municipal Corporation, who carry on their proceedings and business there, as they possess no building of their own suitable for that purpose.

The Union Bank of Australia has an establishment in Collins Street, of considerable size and much architectural pretension; it is a remarkable building, both on account of its extent and beauty, reflecting credit alike on the town and the enterprising body whose property it is.

The last public structure of which the capital of Australia Felix can boast is the wharf, constructed on one side of the semicircular basin which the Yarra Yarra forms close to the town. The bank of the river is piled in, and planked, a platform twenty feet wide being formed along the top. From twenty to thirty small craft may lie alongside the wharf at one time.

Captain Cole, an enterprising merchant. The land below the wharf being most suitable for such a purpose, it is to be hoped that it will be reserved by the Crown for the construction of docks which before many years, will be absolutely required, particularly if the small rock which obstructs the entrance of the river be removed, and access given to vessels of large tonnage.

Although Melbourne is a very important town, even when its private and public buildings and its extent are solely regarded, yet justice has not been done to it by the ruling authorities at Sydney, nor a tithe of the money expended on public buildings and improvements, which its inhabitants had a right to demand, from the vast sums raised from the sale of lands in Australia Felix.

The town has long much required a bridge over the river Yarra Yarra, across which there is a constant traffic, now accommodated by wooden punts or flats, which convey over drays, horses, bullocks, passengers, &c., on payment of a toll. The funds derived from this toll go into the coffers of the Corporation. The building of the bridge, so much needed, is at last commenced. An hospital is also urgently demanded, as well as a suitable police-office, a Town Hall, &c. A post-office, sufficient for the requirements of the place for some years to come, stands nearly in the centre of the town, at the corner of Elizabeth and Bourke Streets.

The town of Melbourne contains about 2000 houses, with a population of rather more than 11,000 inhabitants. The proportion of the population of the capital to the rest of the colony is very great, but this is accounted for by the number of tradesmen, mechanics, and workmen

who were amongst the county immigrants in the years 1839, 40, 41 and 42. These people are at all times very unwilling to change their habits and occupations and take to agricultural or pastoral pursuits in the interior; they prefer partial employment at their own trade, to continued engagement in other ways.

There are also numerous shop-keepers, who supply the population of the interior with necessaries: many of these are Jews, particularly the clothiers and haberdashers. It is strange to pass down Collins Street and see the fronts of at least half the shops bearing the names of Lazarus, Benjamin, Harris, Simeon, Levy, Solomon, &c. The largest retail shop in Melbourne, an immense establishment—"the London and Liverpool Mart"—is owned by two Jews, enterprising men, Messrs. Harris and Marks; several of the very best shops are the property of Jews, and they appear to have carried on a prosperous trade in Australia Felix.

Melbourne is most remarkable for the number of auction rooms to be met with in every part of the town; they are distinguished by flags fluttering from the front door, or a porter parading before the house, ringing a bell and inviting the passers-by to enter. At these auctions, every description of property is disposed of, from land, houses, and stock, to the most trifling articles of general use—a single waistcoat, coat, trowsers, or a pair of boots being put up in one lot.

The population of Melbourne comprising so large a proportion of tradesmen and mechanics, it is not surprising that during the monetary crisis of 1842,



43, and 44, it should have suffered extreme distress and privation. At that period there were, at the lowest computation, six hundred small tradesmen and mechanics without any employment whatsoever ; some left the place, others lived upon what they had realized in the two or three previous prosperous years ; some went into the interior, adopting bush life, whilst not a few actually worked on the streets for the Melbourne Corporation, at one shilling per day each. Provisions of all kinds were extremely cheap, and this enabled the poor to support life for a small sum.

At the present time, all the evidences of that state of distress have passed away ; employment is general for mechanics and others at high rates of wages ; but it would not be advisable for too many tradesmen or artizans to crowd to the shores of Port Phillip at once, as the demand for such must be, for years to come, but limited ; it would only have the effect of reducing wages and throwing many out of employment, if new comers worked for less, and would thus renew the scenes of 1843. It may be safely asserted, as a general rule, that, at present, Australia Felix possesses a fair proportion of tradesmen and artizans amongst its population ; although, in particular trades, this may not always be the case.

According to the census taken in 1845, the population of the district of Australia Felix was, within the boundaries of location, 23,468 ; beyond the boundaries, 9,411 ; whilst that of the town of Melbourne alone formed one-third of the entire, both within and without the boundaries. In the year 1842, the New South Wales' Legislature passed an Act incorporating the town of

Melbourne, and bestowing upon it municipal privileges. By this Act, an elective corporate body, consisting of a Mayor, four Aldermen, and twelve Town Councillors, was established. The election of the Councillors lay with those who possessed the franchise, which was based on the occupancy of a house worth twenty-five pounds per annum—twelve months previous residence being required, although not in the same house. The Mayor and Aldermen are elective by the Councillors, who in the first instance, chose those functionaries from their own body, keeping the number of the entire body at twelve. The Municipal body possesses the power of annulling and levying rates for the improvement of the town, the lighting of the streets, supply of water, and the partial support of the police. The Corporation have the markets and the ferry over the Yarra Yarra River committed to their charge, but the receipts from wharfage dues and public-house licenses are reserved for the general revenue of the colony.

The Municipality is assisted by an annual grant from the general revenue of the colony, to the amount, each year, of two thousand pounds. Only half the expense of the police falls upon the town: the fees taken at the police office being also appropriated towards the support of the police, and the Government defraying the residue, but retaining the control of that body in their own hands.

The Corporation have the power to levy the town rate, provided it be confined to one shilling in the pound sterling on the annual rent at which the occupier is

assessed in the burgess roll, and the lighting rate to

four-pence in the pound; the police rate is also confined, by the Municipal Act, to sixpence in the pound sterling. Water and lighting rates have not been as yet, and are not likely to be for some years to come, levied on the population of Melbourne.

At first the inhabitants of the town were much pleased with the Municipal Act passed by the old nominee legislature of New South Wales, by direction of the authorities at home at the Colonial Office. The worthy citizens were gratified with the prospect of looking after their own interests; but when taxation came to be imposed, to support the expense of the Council, Mayor, Town Clerk, Treasurer, Surveyor, and numerous other officials, besides repairing the streets, they protested in indignant terms against what at first had been looked upon as a boon. But it was too late, the saddle was fast on their backs, and they had to bear it; and where the town rates were not paid promptly, they were enforced by a levy on the individual's goods. By the first Town Council, the salary of the Mayor was fixed at £500 per annum, that of the Town Clerk at £250, the Town Surveyor £200, the Town Treasurer £150; there were several other minor officials who were paid on a lower scale.

Mr. Condell, a respectable brewer, was the first Mayor of Melbourne, as well as its first representative in the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales; but from the latter situation he soon retired, an absence in Sydney for several months in each year being incompatible with his private interests as a man of business. Mr. Condell,

originally a free settler in Van Dieman's Land, at one time attached to the Commissariat department in that island, was amongst the earlier enterprising individuals who crossed over with their capital to the newly-discovered regions of Australia Felix.

The Mayor is, by right of his office, a magistrate, and takes precedence of all others, except the Lieutenant-Governor, Judge, and the members of the Legislature. The fact of the Mayor becoming a magistrate, and the chief one in the town, was particularly acceptable to the people of Melbourne: they had been for some years presided over by a stipendiary magistrate, who had rendered himself particularly obnoxious by his assumption, domineering conduct and hasty decisions, to a large proportion of the people.

The Corporation declined at first to make any provision for the police, the control of them not being placed in their hands; but ultimately they did so for a portion of the force, but refused to allow any salary to the gentleman just alluded to, whose services they did not wish for, as the unpaid magistrates and the Mayor were capable of performing all the required duties. After a struggle, the magistrate was removed by Sir George Gipps, the Governor, and another situation provided for him, much to the delight of the Melbournites. This personage presented a strong and palpable instance of the abuse of power by incompetent officials in distant colonies. His appointment to the situation of police, or stipendiary magistrate, was due to his acquaintance in early life with Sir George Gipps, the Governor of New South Wales:

regiment, he endeavoured to exact from those who came within the sphere of his influence as much obedience and submission as he had been accustomed to in his military capacity ; and if this was not accorded, passion carried the justice away into such vagaries as render a relation of two scenes of this kind worthy a place here.

The magistrate was particularly sensitive and thin-skinned with regard to what appeared in the papers, with which he was no favourite. On one occasion, one of these had made some remark with regard to a decision given by him on the previous day. On entering the Court in the morning, and finding there the reporter of the paper whose strictures had offended him, the magistrate took him to task on the subject. The explanation not being deemed satisfactory, the justice proceeded to storm with his usual violence, and concluded by swearing lustily at the offender.

The scene had continued some minutes before a crowded auditory, when two other magistrates (unpaid) entered and took their seat on the bench. Nothing daunted by their presence, another oath was rapped out at the head of the reporter, who, undismayed, appealed to the two J.P's., and demanded that their brother magistrate should be fined for swearing on the bench, cautioning them of the fact, that having heard the offence, they were subject to heavy penalties if they failed to enforce the law. The case was too apparent ; a couple of law-books were scanned over, and the lowest penalty, five shillings, imposed upon the offender, who paid the money, as may be supposed, with ill-concealed indignation.

The other freak referred to, was more serious, and

There was, and still is, a Melbourne newspaper called the Port Phillip Patriot. Of this, in 1843, a Scotch gentleman, named Kerr, was proprietor, who, in his editorial capacity, had frequent occasion to take the magistrate to task. It was on the appearance of some strictures in the Patriot that the worthy justice entered the police-court one morning, and directed Mr. Kerr to be sent for; the message was unattended to, and a summons, returnable immediately, was issued to compel obedience. This caused the editor to come down without delay to the Court. On his arrival, the magistrate, as usual in a towering rage when offended, ordered Mr. Kerr into the witness-box, directing him to take the book in his hand to be sworn; and he then proceeded to administer an oath to the effect that the witness was to "make true answer to all such questions as should be put to him."

So far so well, the editor looked upon the scene with astonishment, wondering what was to come next. On this point, the official did not long keep him in suspense.

"Are you the editor of the Port Phillip Patriot, and the author of the article reflecting on me that appeared in your paper this morning?" was the question then put by the magistrate, who was assisted on the bench by a Commissioner of Crown Lands. The first part of the question Mr. Kerr stated to be unnecessary, inasmuch as the paper bore his name as editor; to that part that related to the authorship of the objectionable article, he totally declined to return an answer: the bench had no right



right to demand that Mr. Kerr should first convict himself on oath of the alleged offence. In vain the magistrate "pumped" the editor with questions; to come at the main fact: calm and cool, the witness declined to answer, protesting against the right of demanding such information. The official stormed and raved, but all to no purpose; he could extract nothing from the prudent Scotchman, till, enraged to an excess, he actually came to the determination to commit Mr. Kerr to gaol, for contempt of Court, in not answering the questions put to him.

Extraordinary as this decision may appear to be, it was carried into effect, and acquiesced in by the other magistrate, who counter-signed the warrant of committal. Blinded by his feelings, the enraged official, in drawing the warrant, actually inserted a clause imposing hard labour as well as imprisonment on the offender, who was immediately conveyed to the common gaol of the town. For the remainder of the day and that night, as well as the ensuing morning, Mr. Kerr was kept in durance vile; but on the sitting of the Supreme Court, about mid-day, he was brought up by Habeas Corpus and discharged, the magistrate receiving a severe lecture from the presiding judge on the illegality of his proceeding. But the matter did not end here; Mr. Kerr brought an action against the justice for false imprisonment, and obtained a verdict with £50 damages. It would be supposed, that after such a tyrannical and arbitrary use of power, the magistrate would be dismissed from office; but no such thing, he was retained, and no notice taken of the occurrence by the Executive.

The first elections for Municipal functionaries were



carried on with all the party-spirit that was to be witnessed in the mother country twenty years ago. Strange as it may appear, the greatest desire was manifested to obtain a seat in the first representative body the colony possessed, and considerable sums of money were spent in canvassing and treating the electors. On the day of the election itself, open houses were kept by many of the candidates, and strong drinks distributed, *ad libitum*. As may be inferred, riots and disturbances took place, but were unattended by any serious results.

Since the establishment of the Municipality in Melbourne, great exertions have been made to put the streets in a proper state of repair and render them passable; for although in a few years the town had sprung up into large dimensions, yet little had been done by the Corporation to the streets, more than merely levelling them, and in the chief thoroughfares clearing away the stumps of trees—which are even yet to be met with in numbers in the more retired streets, sticking up out of the ground some three or four feet, formidable enemies to passengers of a dark night. But the means of the Municipal body are extremely limited, as the imposition of taxes to the full amount they have the power to levy, would have the effect of driving a large portion of the population to other habitations, without the boundaries of the town.

It would be advisable, in order to promote the prosperity of Melbourne, that a free grant of a considerable portion of the reserved waste Crown Lands, in and about the town, should be bestowed on the Corporation, to form an estate, from which considerable revenues might be

obtained, by leasing the ground for building and other purposes. The police of the town should also be placed under the Corporate body, by whom they should be completely supported; and, at the same time, the revenue derivable from spirit-licenses and wharfage-rates should be given up to the Municipality.

With its extraordinary claims upon the Colonial Office, in consequence of the vast sum that has been derived from the town, as well as the country sections of Australia Felix—a large portion of which was applied exclusively for the benefit of New South Wales—it is to be hoped that justice will yet be done, and the means placed in the hands of the Corporation of Melbourne, of not only at present improving the town, but of permanently keeping it in proper order, without entailing too great a burthen on the inhabitants; this may be done by simply adopting the mode pointed out, viz.: granting a large section of the waste Crown Lands for the purpose, and surrendering the revenue derived in the town from licenses and wharfage-rates to the Municipal body.

A large capital has been sunk by settlers, not only in the land, but in the buildings of Melbourne. Although in 1837 a half-acre allotment could be obtained in the town, at from £15 to £95, according to situation, yet, in 1839 and 1840, very different prices were paid at the Government land sales; half-acre allotments then bringing from £400 to £1,200 each. This certainly was an extraordinary price for ground in a distant colony, without improvements of any kind, and with a very limited population in the surrounding country. The

numerous substantial private buildings of the town were also erected at a vast expense—labour and all kinds of materials being so excessively dear in the early days of the settlement. There are two steam flour and saw-mills in Melbourne, which together could hardly have cost the proprietors much short of £40,000, land included; and the many large stores and shops must have been constructed at a very heavy cost.

Due consideration should be had for this large expenditure, and encouragement be given to such enterprise amongst a body of British settlers in a distant land. Policy requires the placing of means in the hands of proper parties—the Corporation, that the Legislature has itself created—to drain and improve the town, in order to keep pace with, and administer a spur to, the enterprise which has hitherto been so conspicuous here.

In the history of British Colonization, there does not exist another instance of a settlement founded, and so rapidly springing into importance and size, as Melbourne. Twelve short years ago, Batman, his family, and a few of his servants, dwelt alone on the hill bearing his name, overlooking the site of the present town. The hills on which it is built were then covered by an open forest, between which lay a small lagoon, now the site of Elizabeth Street, where in 1835 wild ducks were frequently shot. The fires of the Aborigines then gleamed amongst the woods, where now thousands of the busy children of Britain toil and labour at their various occupations, or dash along on horseback, or in carriages, through streets as yet not completely denuded of the trees of

affording shelter to flocks of parrots, whose bright plumage glittered in the flashing rays of the sun, and to the white cockatoo, which from the topmost branches screamed out his matin song.

Without assistance of any kind from the Government in a monetary point of view, Melbourne has been founded, populated and built: the cost of such labour as was introduced by the *Exécutif* having been defrayed by the funds arising from the waste lands purchased by the original settlers.

As already mentioned, the coast line of Australia Felix presents, at intervals, several harbours, admirably situated, by their relative distance from each other, for forming ports for the products of the back country. At three of these harbours, or bays, townships have already been formed, viz.: at Geelong, the township of Corio; at Port Fairy, that of Belfast; and at Portland Bay, that of Portland.

These three townships form the nuclei of future important cities. At present, they not only answer as shipping points for produce, but stores, banks, and shops of various kinds, to meet the wants of the surrounding population, have been established at each.

At Geelong, in the season, several ships load for England with wool, bark, and tallow; at Portland, also, a direct export trade of some extent is carried on with England, whale-oil and whalebone forming a considerable item in the list of exports. The country near Portland is also admirably adapted for cultivation, and wheat and potatoes are extensively grown, part of which is shipped

In the three minor townships of Australia Felix, many substantial stores and private houses have sprung up; the population of Geelong or Corio exceeds 1,300; that of Belfast, 400; and that of Portland, 500; the two latter instances including those employed in the whaling at these places.

In 1836, when Sir Thomas Mitchell, the able Surveyor-General of New South Wales, was engaged in exploring the western portion of Australia Felix, he came upon the shores of Portland Bay, expecting to find there the disembogement of a considerable river. Instead of discovering this, much to his astonishment, he found at a place, that he had previously considered unsettled, a vessel lying at anchor, and several houses constructed on shore. It was the settlement of Mr. Henty, who had crossed over from Van Dieman's Land, and founded here a whaling and farming establishment. Mr. Henty and his brother had, previously to 1830, emigrated from England to Western Australia; but not approving of that country, they transferred themselves to Van Dieman's Land, where they became extensive merchants and stock owners; and when the fertile plains of Australia Felix were explored by the first Van Dieman's Land settlers, the enterprise of Mr. Henty induced him at once to seek a settlement on the unexplored shores of the southern coast. The judiciousness of his choice of situation has been manifestly proved by the establishment of a prosperous township, and the large amount of exports from thence. The first land sale by the Executive, at Portland Bay, took

tive into a county, called, in honour of the noble Marquis then at the head of the colonial department, the County of Normanby. The country lands sold in this district, at the October sale of 1840, were suburban allotments, amounting in the whole to 315 acres, bringing in the aggregate £6,219, or about £19 13s. per acre.

The allotments disposed of in the township of ~~Port~~land, at the same sale, numbered only forty, of half an acre each in extent; the aggregate amount which they fetched was £11,026 10s., or £551 6s. 6d. per acre. Well, therefore, may it be said, Mr. Henty deserves of his country, in having discovered and founded a settlement, where, within four years, the Executive actually disposed of twenty acres of land for £11,000 sterling.

The township of Portland is situated in latitude  $38^{\circ} 24'$ , longitude  $141^{\circ} 25'$ , at the head of a Bay, upwards of twenty miles in length and ten in breadth.

The Bay is completely open to the south-east; but the wind seldom prevails from that quarter, and only in the summer months. The anchorage is, therefore, safe; and of late the Government has constructed a long pier on piles, running into the sea one hundred yards, along side which vessels can load and discharge with much facility, there being from four to six fathoms water at the end of the jetty. The town is laid out close to the shores of the Bay, the streets running as usual in colonial townships, at right angles.

There is here an extensive Court House and Gaol; and two papers, the "Portland Guardian" and "Portland Advertiser," are published in the town. Vast forests of very fine large timber exist in the vicinity, and the soil is

diately around the town is extremely rich, and produces abundant crops. Cattle are more suited to the land in the neighbourhood than sheep; but about forty or fifty miles inland there is the most splendid pasturage for sheep, the ground being more elevated and hilly.

Portland must ultimately become a place of great trade and importance: forming the chief outlet for the produce of that vast extent of fertile and rich country between the River Hopkins and the boundary of South Australia, in an easterly and westerly direction, and extending into the interior to the northward many hundred miles. To the westward of Portland Bay, along the coast in the direction of South Australia, no good harbour has as yet been discovered; the coast is little known, and appears to be bordered with thick, dense forests, springing out of a limestone soil, which extends some distance into the interior. Portland lies about twenty-five miles from the boundary of the colony, near which a remarkable hill, Mount Gamber, is situated on the western side of the Glenelg River, and within the territory of the South Australian Province; as at present defined, it denotes to the traveller his approach to the frontier.

The banks of the Glenelg River, and in fact most of the country in its vicinity, is remarkably rich and fertile, and numerous squatters have in consequence taken up their abode along its course. The Glenelg, which takes its name from the noble Lord who presided over the British colonial possessions some fourteen years since, has its rise in the Grampian Mountains, about ninety miles to the north-east of Portland. It at first flows nearly due west



for seventy or eighty miles, through a country strongly indicative of volcanic origin, and of much fertility; and then tending to the southward, it pursues its fertilizing way for nearly one hundred miles further, till it falls into the Southern Ocean. The entire course of the Glenelg exceeds two hundred miles, without counting its numerous curvatures; and it receives many other rivers and streams from the eastward, the largest of which is the Wannon River. Before the Glenelg falls into the sea, it crosses the South Australian boundary, returning into that of Australia Felix, thus creating isolated spots on both sides, difficult to assign to either colony. This has been taken advantage of by not a few bad characters, who have for the present taken up their abode on this "debateable land." Surveyors had been despatched, according to the last accounts from Australia Felix and South Australia, to meet on the frontier, and accurately define and mark out the boundary.

Besides the townships already mentioned, there have been of late several others marked out and established by the Executive, but none of them have yet attained any importance. Several of these are in the interior: at the Grange, eighty miles to the north-west of Portland, is one; another is on the river Goulburn, near where the overland track from Sydney to Port Phillip crosses that river.

On the sea-coast, about twenty miles to the eastward of Port Fairy, there has also lately been marked out a township on the banks of the River Hopkins, close to the sea-shore, where a small bay exists, into which the river

empties itself. On this township the native name of Warnambool has been bestowed; and, from its position, it bids fair to become ultimately prosperous.

In 1843, the writer visited the mouth of the River Hopkins, along the upper banks of which many squatters are settled. At that period, a gentleman of the name of Allen was the sole resident squatter near the mouth of the river; his cattle and sheep depastured for miles along, not only the river, but the sea-coast, and he was then employed in the erection of a stone house, to which he projected early bringing home a bride, for whom a bush hut would not be suitable. That stone house, the first of the kind erected for a vast distance around, proved to be the commencement of a rising official township; and the streets of Warnambool are now marked out around it, to the no small surprise of Mr. Allen, who had counted on being for years to come the sole tenant of the Crown in that vicinity, by virtue of his annual ten pounds' license.

Not only Warnambool, but each of the townships in the interior, favourably situated, will also become a useful nucleus for various tradesmen, mechanics, and shopkeepers, whose united services may be in request with the surrounding inhabitants. They will also serve as central points, from whence the benefits of religion and education may be dispersed over the vicinity; and the Executive would do well to promote, as much as possible, the formation of these townships, whence centralization, following in the footsteps of those pioneers of civilization, the squatters, may extend its advantages.

But, again population is the thing required for the formation of these towns, which cannot be expected to spring up rapidly, when the settlers and squatters are unable to procure sufficient men to tend their widely-dispersed flocks and herds. How extreme the want of labour in the colony actually is, the following table of mechanics' wages, extracted from the Port Phillip Patriot and other journals of the past year, will best show.

Blacksmiths	.	.	.	.	7s. per day.
Whitesmiths	.	.	.	.	8s. „
Bookbinders.	.	.	.	.	7s. „
Cabinetmakers	.	.	.	.	7s. „
Carvers and Gilders	.	.	.	.	8s. „
Coach Builders	.	.	.	.	9s. „
Coopers	.	.	.	.	6s. „
Coppersmiths	.	.	.	.	8s. „
Cutlers.	None.				
Engineers	.	.	.	.	7s. „
Millers.	One Hundred Pounds per annum and House.				
Iron and Brassfounders	.	.	.	.	7s. „
Nailors.	None.				
Painters and Glaziers	.	.	.	.	6s. „
Plasterers	.	.	.	.	6s. „
Plumbers	.	.	.	.	9s. „
Potters.	None.				
Printers	.	.	.	.	7s. „
Saddlers	.	.	.	.	7s. „
Ship Builders	.	.	.	.	6s. „
Ship Joiners	.	.	.	.	7s. „
Turners	.	.	.	.	7s. „
Upholsterers	.	.	.	.	6s. „
Wheelwrights	.	.	.	.	6s. „
Wire Workers	.	.	.	.	12s. „

Boot and Shoemakers, making Wellington Boots	11s. per pair.
Making and closing ditto	20s. „
Ditto Shoes	5s. „

In this table, carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, and stonemasons, are not mentioned—the number of these in the colony fully equalling the demand for them: in fact, many of these are employed at other pursuits in the bush; but the current rate of wages for these four trades, varies from six to seven shillings per day, according to circumstances.

The following table shows the rates of wages for agricultural, pastoral, domestic, and other servants, including females.

Shepherds	£25 to £35 per annum.
Hut-keepers	25 to 35 „
Stock-keepers	26 to 36 „
Ploughmen	30 „
Ordinary farm servants	25 „
Man and Wife for general service	47 „
Gardeners	40 „
House man servant	30 „
House female servant	26 „
Cooks	30 „
Grooms (without rations)	70 „
Reaping, by the acre, with rations	1 „

All these in the latter table, except grooms, are supplied with rations gratis, independent of their yearly wages. House rent they have none to pay in the interior; and if in the towns, the master finds them accommodation. The weekly scale of rations usual in the colony is twelve

pounds of best flour, twelve pounds of fresh meat, four ounces of tea, and two pounds of moist sugar, besides vegetables and milk, *ad libitum*, when obtainable at the station. Some of the distant sheep stations are, however, without milking cattle, and have no land cultivated for vegetables; in fact, some are without any cultivation whatsoever.

The great want of the colony is an adequate supply of agricultural and pastoral labour: at the present time, the hundreds of emancipated felons, whom the settlers and squatters of Australia Felix give free passages to from Van Dieman's Land, are eagerly sought and engaged as shepherds and labourers, at from £25 to £35 per annum, although many of them understand nought whatsoever about either sheep, cattle, or farming: having passed great part of their lives in prison, or at the large towns. There have also been some importations from Great Britain into the colony, within the last few years, of what are called exiles. These people are none other than convicted felons, who have passed various periods of imprisonment in the model prisons at home, and are, after certain terms of probation, sent to the Australian colonies, where they are under no more supervision or control than that exercised over the rest of the population of the country. Some of these exiles, as they are termed, are of the juvenile class; all are alike prohibited from returning to England under the period to which the original term of their sentence extends.

At first, the inhabitants of Australia Felix strongly protested against these importations of crime: which they urged were not only likely to demoralize the country, but, ultimately, to entail upon it a heavy police, gaol, and

judicial expenditure, in order to suppress and punish these persons on their probable return to vicious courses. Of late these qualms have been suppressed, and the exiles made welcome, as they went some way towards supplying labour to the colony. Pity, indeed it is, to see these inmates of our gaols given free passage to the colony, instead of our industrious poor, who would be much preferred and prized by the inhabitants of Australia Felix!

Although the table of rates of wages holds forth bright prospects for many trades, yet again would the writer caution the public on this point. The number of tradesmen required by a population of only thirty-two thousand individuals, who import much of their clothing, tools, &c., ready made, from Great Britain, is very small; and the author can assure the public, from an extensive personal knowledge of the colony, that but very few mechanics are required. In many trades there is a full supply; perhaps in a few others there are instances where more hands could get employment, but these are exceptions, and the introduction of any large number would not only not benefit the new comers, but materially injure those already in the country. Once more the writer must reiterate, "the people wanted in Australia Felix are labourers, agricultural and pastoral, with their wives, and families if grown up." Besides, although mechanics when at work do get good wages, yet they are chiefly employed in the towns, and house rent is there very high. In Melbourne a mechanic cannot get any kind of a house, even a wooden one, unplastered and unceiled within, with three or four rooms, under £20 to £30 per annum. There is then water, wood, &c., to pay for; and although provisions are extremely cheap and the

prudent man can save money and do well, yet the wages for a mechanic are scarcely more than he ought to be entitled to in a distant country and warm climate. In the towns, particularly Melbourne, there exists a large number of abominations, under the names of houses. These are unsightly rough wood, or "wattle and daub," erections, crammed together in the interior of some town allotment that has been originally purchased from the Crown by a speculator, who has then cut up and retailed it in minor sections of so many square feet each, perhaps only barely sufficient for the four walls of the house to stand on. These few feet were eagerly sought after, and purchased by the tradesmen and mechanics in the early days of the colony, in order to knock up a little tenement of their own, and escape from the exorbitant rents of the period.

This, like many other vexations of the colony, may be traced to the misgovernment of the late Sir George Gipps, who, whilst boundless tracts, uninhabited and waste, lay around, cramped up the population of Melbourne on a limited number of allotments; compelling the people to huddle their dwellings together on a few feet, where Nature had provided countless acres for their accommodation, health, and comfort. But, although much evil and some sickness have, hitherto, been the result, a remedy for the future is to be provided in the shape of a Building Act, which will cause these agglomerations of small tenements in the backs of allotments soon to pass away, and none but houses of a certain construction to be erected within the boundaries of the town. Such an Act has long existed in Sydney, and has been found to be of the greatest utility and public benefit.



The following is a correct price current of everything in general use, horses, cattle, sheep, &c.

## MELBOURNE MARKETS, MAY, 1847.

## VEGETABLES.

Potatoes	.	.	.	3s. 6d. per cwt.
Onions	.	.	.	10s. „
Carrots	.	.	.	1d. per bunch.
Parsnips	.	.	.	1½d. „
Cabbages	.	.	.	1d to 2d. each.
Greens	.	.	.	1d. per bunch.
Radishes	.	.	.	1d. „
Cucumbers	.	.	.	1d to 2d. each.
Capsicums	.	.	.	4d. per lb.

## FRUIT.

Bananas and plantains	.	.	3d. each.
Pears	.	.	1d to 2d. „
Quinces	.	.	1d to 1½d „
Melons	.	.	3d to 5d „
Apples	.	.	4d to 6d. per lb.
Damsons	.	.	6d to 8d „
Plums	.	.	6d to 9d „
Grapes	.	.	6d to 9d „
Hay, oaten or barley (grain left in).	£2 10s.	to £4 10s	per ton.
Bread	.	.	6d to 7d. 4lbs loaf.
Beef	.	.	2d. per lb.
Mutton	.	.	2d. „
Pork	.	.	4d. „
Lamb	.	.	3d. „
Veal	.	.	3d. „
Butter, fresh	.	.	1s. to 1s. 4d. „
Butter, salt	.	.	8d to 1s. „
Eggs	.	.	1d to 1½d. each.
Fowls	.	.	2s to 3s. per pair.
Ducks	.	.	3s to 4s. „

Geese	.	.	.	6s to 8s.	each.
Turkeys	.	.	.	5s to 7s.	„
Milk	.	.	.	3d.	per quart.
Wheat	.	.	.	4s 6d to 5s 6d.	p. bush.
Barley	.	.	.	4s to 5s.	„
Oats	.	.	.	4s to 4s 6d.	„
Maize	.	.	.	2s to 3s.	„
Flour	.	.	.	£11 10s to £13	per ton.
Bran	.	.	.	8d to 10d.	p. bush.

## LIVE STOCK.

	£	s	d		£	s	
Fat Bullocks	2	10	0	to	3	10	each.
Working Bullocks	7	0	0	to	9	0	per pair.
Milch Cows	2	0	0	to	3	5	each.
Steers	2	0	0	to	3	0	„
Mixed herds of various ages, all under							
six months given in	1	7	6	to	2	0	„
„ „ right of station							
given in	1	12	0	to	2	10	„
Sheep, Wethers, fat	0	6	0	to	0	10	„
„ Clean Ewes, prime, in flocks	0	7	0	to	0	9	„
„ Mixed, clean flocks	0	6	0	to	0	8	„
„ „ station given in	0	6	0	to	0	10	„
Well bred Rams	2	0	0				„
Horses (draught)	17	0	0	to	22	0	„
„ (harness)	14	0	0	to	20	0	„
„ (good hacks)	18	0	0	to	25	0	„
Horses (Colts)	15	0	0	to	17	0	„
„ (Stock and inferior)	8	0	0	to	12	0	„

## SUNDRIES FOR EXPORT.

	£	s	d		£	s	
Beef (prime mess)	2	18	0				per tierce.
Bones (best)	4	10	0				per ton.
„ (inferior)	1	12	0				„
Hides	0	7	0				each.

	£	s	d		£	s
Horns . . . . .	0	8	0	p. hundr. (lbs. 120).		
Sheep skins with wool . . . . .	0	2	0	to	0	3
Tallow (Beef) . . . . .	28	10	0			per ton.
„ (Mutton) . . . . .	30	0	0	to	33	0
Wool, prime quality . . . . .	0	1	0	to	1	3
„ fair „ . . . . .	0	0	11	to	1	1
„ in grease . . . . .	0	0	7	to	0	9

## SUNDRIES FOR HOME CONSUMPTION.

	£	s	d		£	s	d
Ale, in bulk, good brands, per hogshead.	5	0	0				
„ in bottle, per doz., Dunbar, or All-							
sops . . . . .	0	10	0	to	0	12	0
Porter „ „ „ . . . . .	0	10	0	to	0	11	6
Brandy, per gallon, in bond . . . . .	0	10	0	to	0	14	0
Hollands „ duty paid . . . . .	0	14	0	to	0	15	0
Rum „ in bond . . . . .	0	5	0	to	0	6	0
Whisky „ „ . . . . .	0	7	0	to	0	9	0
Wine, Sherry, per dozen . . . . .	1	5	0	to	2	0	0
„ „ in wood, per butt . . . . .	45	0	0	to	50	0	0
„ Port „ „ . . . . .	42	0	0	to	55	0	0
„ Cape „ „ . . . . .	12	0	0	to	14	0	0
Candles, English Moulds, per lb. . . . .	0	0	10				
„ Colonial „ „ . . . . .	0	0	4				
Cigars, Manillas, per thousand . . . . .	2	4	0	to	4	0	0
Currants, per lb. . . . .	0	0	6				
Corrosive sublimate, for sheep, per lb. . . . .	0	5	0	to	0	6	0
Deals, 9 inch, per foot . . . . .	0	0	7½	to	0	0	8
Hops, American, per lb. . . . .	0	1	4	to	0	1	9
Canvas, per yard . . . . .	0	1	0	to	0	1	2
Gunny Bags, each . . . . .	0	0	8	to	0	0	9
Lead, sheet, per ton . . . . .	26	0	0				
Mustard, lb. bottles . . . . .	0	1	6				
Cheese, best, per lb. . . . .	0	0	6				
Oatmeal, British, per lb. . . . .	0	0	3				

	£	s	d		£	s	d
Pickles, quarts, assorted, per doz.	0	18	0				
„ pints „ „	0	12	0				
Pepper, per lb.	0	0	6				
Iron, Rod or Bar, per ton	13	0	0	to	14	0	0
„ Hoop, per ton	18	0	0	to	20	0	0
Raisins, per lb.	0	0	6	to	0	0	10
Rice, per lb.	0	0	2	to	0	0	3
Salt, St. Ubes, per ton	5	0	0				
„ Liverpool, per ton	3	10	0				
„ Native	3	0	0				
Sugar, Moist, Coarse, per lb.	0	0	2½	to	0	0	3
„ „ very good	0	0	3	to	0	0	4
„ Refined, per lb.	0	0	7	to	0	0	8
Starch, per lb.	0	0	4				
Soda, per cwt.	0	12	0	to	0	14	0
Soap, English, per lb.	0	0	3	to	0	0	4
„ Native, per lb.	0	0	4	to	0	0	5
Sacks, 3 Bushel, each	0	1	6				
Tarpaulins, each	2	0	0	to	3	0	0
Turpentine, per gallon	0	5	0				
Tobacco, New South Wales, per lb.	0	0	9				
Tea, Hyson, per chest	4	0	0				
„ Congou, „	5	10	0				
„ „ per lb.	0	1	6	to	0	2	6
Coffee, per lb.	0	0	10	to	0	1	4
Woolpacks, each	0	5	0				

It will be seen by the above price current, that many articles are much cheaper than in Great Britain; particularly tea, sugar and coffee; this is owing to the moderate duty levied on these main articles of consumption.

The duty on wines and spirits is also much lower than in the mother country; ales and porter are dear when imported, but both these articles, of prime quality, are

manufactured in the colony and sold cheap; indeed of late there has been little other than colonial ale and porter generally consumed.

The tobacco in use by the lower classes is almost exclusively grown and manufactured in New South Wales—the quality very good indeed—and there is no duty whatsoever upon it. On foreign tobacco there is a duty of one shilling per pound, which is of itself more than the entire price of the very best New South Wales tobacco.

Woollen clothes are, at the outside, not more than forty per cent dearer than in Great Britain; cotton drills are but little higher: the Americans competing with us in this article even in our own colonial markets. Much of the clothes worn in the colony are imported ready made; in the interior, master and men alike rough it out with the coarsest kinds: barragon, or moleskin is the general material of both coat and trowsers for shepherd and stock-owner. Woollens are seldom made use of, except in the shape of great coats for night watching, travelling, or winter wear. When you meet a settler or squatter in the interior, his almost universal costume—as he jogs along on his horse—is simply composed of a straw hat, moleskin shooting-coat and trowsers, check shirt, and broad leather belt round the waist supporting the trowsers, which are widely strapped with leather for riding; a tin pot slung at the back of the saddle to make tea in, a pair of hobbles, and a tether rope coiled round the neck of his horse, complete the equipment, with the addition of fire-arms, if the part of the country he is travelling in be molested

to afford a night's rest, the traveller, alone or otherwise, sits down at the foot of a tree, tethers his horse where there is sufficient grass for him to feed on—or hobbles him if he is not likely to stray—gathers some wood, kindles a fire, boils a pot of tea, and with a lump of damper,\* and a cut of salt meat soon satisfies his appetite; he then prepares for rest, which he takes wrapt up in a blanket or opossum-rug, stretched on the bare ground, with the saddle for a pillow and the broad heavens for a canopy.

\* The word damper signifies bread unleavened, baked in the ashes, about a couple of inches thick.

## CHAPTER III.

ABORIGINES—SQUATTING—GOVERNMENT—SEPARATION FROM NEW  
SOUTH WALES.

To the traveller first landing in Australia Felix, the Aborigines in the vicinity of Melbourne are perhaps the greatest objects of interest the country affords. In them alone is to be found the slight traces of the former history of the land they inhabit; no monuments, shrines, or ruins exist to tell of the past; the impress of Nature is alone stamped upon the soil.

In appearance, the native tribes of Australia Felix surpass those of New South Wales; and they also exhibit considerably more intelligence, this nevertheless has not had the effect of preserving them; and they are fast passing from the face of the land, perishing before the advent of civilization.

Shortly after the settlement of the Port Phillip district, under the direction of Lord Glenelg—then presiding at the Colonial Department—a Protectorate was organized, in the hope of preserving and civilizing the Aboriginal race. At the head of this body was placed a Mr. Robinson, by whose means the Aboriginal population of Van Dieman's Land had been collected and deported to



Flinder's Island, in Bass's Straits, where they were located under this gentleman's management and control. Intimately acquainted with the habits and customs of savage life, and possessed of much kindness of heart and suavity of temper, Mr. Robinson was eminently qualified for the situation in which he was placed. Under him were four sub-protectors, gentlemen appointed from England, Messrs. Parker, Thomas, Sievwright and Dredge.

The main object of the Protectorate was to collect the Aboriginal tribes at different points of location, and, by instruction and kindness, to induce them to adopt the habits of a settled life. This, it was considered, would, by keeping them under the eye of the protectors, preserve them from collisions with the whites, and prevent them perpetrating outrages on the property of the latter. But this plan, however feasible in theory, could not be reduced to practice; the feelings of hostility existing between the various tribes prevented any two of them assembling and living in terms of amity, so that even if the project of settled locations would answer, a different one would have to be formed for every tribe.

On the Goulburn and Loddon Rivers, permanent stations were formed, with a sub-protector resident at each; but although blankets, provisions, and other things were distributed there with no niggard hand, the number of the Aborigines assembled was never considerable, and their stay was not permanent. For weeks and months they might remain at the station, assisting in its duties, constructing huts and cultivating the land; but without a moment's notice, and for no apparent reason, they suddenly departed and resumed their roving migratory

habits. In no case have the protectors found it possible to retain even the smallest number of Aborigines, male or female, permanently; at the very period when they had the greatest hopes of succeeding in this point, the natives would probably leave them in the lurch.

In consequence of the ill-success of these permanent stations, some of the protectors adopted the plan of attaching themselves to a particular tribe, and moving with them wherever they went. Such was the mode pursued by Mr. Thomas; but the only useful result has been to give that zealous person much insight into the habits and manners of the Aborigines, and to protect those around him from collision with the whites.

Although conceived in the best spirit of humanity and philanthropy, yet the Protectorate system has been a failure. From 1838 to 1842, both inclusive, the expense to the colony under this head, fell little short of £30,000; but since then the outlay has been considerably curtailed, and the number of sub-protectors has been reduced from four to two; besides, the Aboriginal population itself is rapidly decreasing, and the Executive has all but abandoned any hope of preserving the native race.

To the Wesleyan body much credit is due for their efforts to civilize and preserve the Aboriginal race. A missionary settlement was founded by this body near Lake Colac: an extensive tract of land, and annual assistance in the shape of a monetary grant, being afforded by the Government, the total amount of the latter since 1836, approaching £5000. But here again the Executive

of the Aborigines ; and the grant to the Colac mission is now only £100 per annum, a sum that merely enables it, under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Tuckfield, to linger out its existence without a hope of any advantage being obtained by it.

The first settlers had scarcely landed from Van Dieman's Land on the shores of Australia Felix, when they came into hostile collision with the Aborigines. The latter could not understand by what right they were driven from their fishing-places and hunting-grounds ; and as the kangaroo and other game fled before the flocks and herds of the white men, the natives sought to make amends for their loss by slaughtering the sheep and cattle of the settlers. As may be supposed, this was not permitted to occur with impunity, and many human lives were sacrificed on both sides. So fierce and intractable had the Aboriginal race in Van Dieman's Land been found, that whilst one of them remained in the island, a war of extermination was carried on between them and the whites. It is not surprising, therefore, that the servants of settlers coming from Van Dieman's Land, should adopt, in a great measure, the same course towards the natives of Australia Felix. There are many well-known instances of persons in the Port Phillip district who have made themselves notorious by hunting down the Aborigines like so many wild animals. It is frequently the case that cattle become alarmed by the presence of the natives on a run, and make away across the country for some distance. This, of course, makes the squatter or settler desirous of preventing the Aborigines approaching their stations ; and as a name of terror is found

to be the most effectual mode, not a few have taken the means of acquiring that distinction.

When in Australia Felix, the author was personally aware of the fact that for no earthly inducement could a native be prevailed on to pass near the station of one of the squatters in the district of Portland Bay. For miles would the Aborigines go out of their road, to avoid approaching the run of this individual, who it would appear had, by the slaughter of many of their brethren, given them good cause for their fears.

But it is not the Van Dieman's Land, settlers alone who have so rapidly swept the Aboriginal race from the face of this colony. Young men from England, educated and occupying respectable stations in society, have aided considerably in the work.

In 1843, five young men were placed on their trial at Melbourne, for the murder of a large number of the Aborigines, in a scrub in the Port Fairy district, in the vicinity of the squatting station of Messrs. Smith and Osbrey. The natives were old men, women and children, who had been left in this scrub whilst the men of the tribe were out hunting, or on some other expedition; they were unfortunately discovered: a party of whites on horseback, and well armed, surrounded the scrub and shot them down like so many pheasants, one or two only escaping the massacre. The five young men charged with the offence, and who were placed upon their trial for murder, were all persons respectably connected, as was also another person accused of being one of the murderers, but who escaped at that period from the colony.

The trial lasted two days, the evidence of Aboriginal witnesses could not in law be received: circumstantial evidence was all that consequently could be adduced, and the prisoners were acquitted. That verdict binds the world to consider them innocent; but among the jury who tried them, were squatters who had themselves often come into conflict with the Aborigines; and one in particular, the writer heard boast over his grog, some time after the trial, that if they had shot double the number he would not have found the prisoners guilty.

Considered of little value, the lives of the Aborigines are like the leaves of the forest, passing away; leaving behind scarce a trace of their former existence, except in the wide vistas their fires have caused in the trackless forests of the interior.

It may be very safely asserted, that the Aborigines of Australia Felix do not at present amount to one-sixth the number that existed in 1835; indeed many tribes then reckoning one and two hundred are now totally extinct. Amongst these, the Tarragate tribe that lived on the shores of Port Phillip Bay is now no more; the Wawaurrong or Yarra Yarra tribe, notwithstanding the protecting care of Mr. Thomas, number little more than one hundred—less than one-fourth their former number; the Goulburn tribe, once most formidable, both in numbers and bravery, are but a skeleton. The Colagins, the Jarcoots, the Jajowrongs, ten years since all numerous and powerful, are now so reduced as to be not only incapable of molesting the settlers, but of even protecting themselves against hostile tribes, whom they now fall ready victims to.

But let not the reader suppose that all the wrong and injury originated with the whites. Deprived of their hunting-grounds and the previous sources of their livelihood, the Aborigines committed many outrages on the property of the whites, in some cases sacrificing life where resistance was made. It was not to be expected that the settlers and squatters would enter into philosophical discussions as to the relative rights of the whites and blacks to the soil. They saw their sheep and cattle killed or carried away, and they adopted the most rapid steps to recover them or punish the Aborigines. The law was taken into their own hands, and the fire-arms they possessed, when brought into competition with the wooden weapons of the natives, soon settled the matter.

Want also, consequent on the scarcity of game on the advent of civilization, and the diseases introduced by the vicious practices of the whites, had a large share in causing the rapid decrease of these children of nature. All those diseases common to persons of depraved habits were hitherto unknown among the Aborigines, and consequently they possess no means for their cure; thus they die away, before those who assume the ownership of the soil, in right of civilization, but who introduce with them the germ of death, the fruit of their crimes, to expend itself on the doomed Aborigines of Australia.

With death in every shape and way, by violence, by disease, by poison even—for instances of such are too well authenticated as having occurred in Australia—introduced and inflicted on them by the whites, it was but natural that the natives doubted the sincerity of the various attempts that have been made to bring them within the bounds of

civilization, and declined to accept religion and law from the same hands that dealt death and destruction amongst them. These children of nature could not be expected to distinguish theory from practice; the white men were judged by their acts alone, and found wanting towards the Aborigines in all but words.

It is not at all surprising that the Aborigines of Australia are, in their natural state, a wandering, migratory race, for the country presents, in every part, an extreme paucity of food of any description. Native fruits there may be said to be none, and animals even are not only rare but insignificant, the kangaroo being the chief as yet discovered in the located parts. Thus is a wandering life of necessity entailed on the native, to whom the existence of grain of any kind, or even cultivatable roots, are equally unknown.

Strange as it may appear, it is yet true, that no indigenous bulb or root fit for human food, of good quality, has been discovered in the soil of Australia even in the rivers" and water-holes. Nor is fish plentiful. Forced to subsist on game, snakes, opossums, bandicoots, vermin, fish, and the grub-worms found between the bark and wood of trees, it was compulsory on the natives to traverse a large extent of country to procure a sufficient supply of these. And at times they suffer much for want of food: as they are not at all provident, the morrow is generally allowed to provide for itself, and if hunting be unsuccessful, want is in the camp. When food is plenty, the Aborigines gorge themselves to excess, devouring vast quantities of half raw meat. A few insignificant indigenous wild roots there are, which the women root up with



long pointed sticks, but they are scarce worth noticing—nothing like the potatoe, the yam, or many edible roots which have been found in other countries. These roving habits have occasioned frequent collisions between tribes; life was sacrificed, and permanent feuds engendered, descending from generation to generation: causing, in all times, much loss of life, either in open warfare or secretly by assassination. The difficulty also of procuring food led to infanticide, another prime cause of the non-increase of the Aboriginal population, already very limited, in proportion to the vast extent of land occupied by them, previously to the access of the whites.

The occurrence of natural deaths also frequently originated a further sacrifice of life. As in New South Wales, the Aborigines do not believe in death from mere natural causes; the death of every one, they suppose, must have arisen from the enmity of some other party, who has stolen, by the aid of incantations and witchcraft, the kidney fat of the deceased, which portion of the body appears to be considered by the natives as the great seat of life.

The manner of ascertaining by whom the death of a deceased friend has been caused varies in different tribes; but, in many instances, the body is allowed to remain undisposed of until decomposition sets in, and then the direction taken by the first of the “worms of corruption” that issue from it is considered infallibly to indicate the quarter in which the enemy of the dead is to be found. Ghosts and evil spirits are believed in, and in order to prevent the deceased from haunting the steps of his

others burn the dead; in either case, all the property of the deceased is buried or consumed with him, and that duty performed, and the friends of the dead daubed all over with a whitish soapy kind of clay, to signify mourning, they set out in the direction indicated to discover the cause of their friend's death. The first native met with is regarded as the murderer, and he is sacrificed to the manes of the dead, on the spot; and portions of his flesh, kidney, and caul fat, brought back to the camp, as essential in certain ceremonies. Thus the death of one native, from natural causes, generally leads to the sacrifice of another; for the friends of the deceased are most scrupulous in observing their promises of revenge to the dead, who they consider would trouble them, and afflict them with many terrible diseases, if they failed in this duty. Their mourning paint is never washed off until their vow is fulfilled.

The temporary habitations, or mia-mias, of the Aborigines are similar to those of the natives of New South Wales, constructed of a few sheets of bark, or branches of trees, according to the state of the weather; one side of this insufficient habitation is always left open, and a fire kept burning in front of it.

It is a strange circumstance, with their many dense forests of huge timber, that the Aborigines seldom, if ever, indulge in large fires, and if you ask them the reason, they tell you that the time is not far distant when wood will be extremely scarce and difficult to procure, and that, therefore, they are desirous of saving it. This appears to be the only way in which the natives could preserve their forests.

his eyes first on the vast forests of their land, and then on these children of nature shivering in the rains of winter over a poor fire made with a few twigs raked together. It is more than probable that their race will never live to see the want they at present seem to dread and guard against so anxiously. It is difficult to dis sever the many traditions the Aborigines have as to their creation, existence, and fate after death, from the ideas and fictions which the original settlement of New South Wales gave rise to amongst them, and which only reached the natives of Australia Felix, after receiving many additions from the various tribes through which those must have previously passed.

There does exist among them some idea of the creation of man by a good divinity, who infused warmth into the hitherto drear, cold, and desolate earth, from which many black men and women sprung forth, perfectly formed, and arrived at maturity. But, although the sun shone and diffused its rays around at this period, yet the long dreary night had to be passed without fire, and their food consumed in a raw state. After long years, the good divinity that had created them once more came to their assistance, and supplied the want. Confused, indeed, are these traditions; but an idea exists of an universal flood, which the author rather thinks is borrowed from the whites, as well as the belief of a single man and woman after the flood, who are said to be the sole parents of the present race. These are considered to have been the children of one of the Aboriginal deities, Pungil, the mighty god of war.

There exists also a tradition of the entire land being at one period tenanted with reptiles and fierce voracious

animals, which were destroyed by the same good and powerful divinity who conferred so many other favours. The Aborigines of Australia Felix have idols of wood, stone and bark, to which sacrifices and offerings are made, and in whose honour corrobories are held. The moon, the brightest of the planets and stars, the darkness that covers the earth at night, are all believed to be deities for good or evil. The night is dreaded by the natives, who then conceive that bad spirits wander about in search of persons to seize upon; in consequence, they then never move, except in numbers, carrying fire-sticks for protection.

Transmigration of the soul is believed in; but its immortality, or a future state of rewards or punishment, does not seem to be conceived or understood. The former inhabitants of the earth, before the time of the flood, are considered to have been transformed into minor stars, as the deities of that period were into greater ones. A thousand other vague and dreamy ideas of the past and future, unconnected and irreconcilable with each other, occupy the minds of the Aborigines; and although the writer has often tried to learn, yet he has never heard from separate tribes any one similar great fact, which, from its importance and general belief, would lead to a consideration that the traditions of the natives were any more than the vague creations of the present, or perhaps the immediately preceding generation, connected with what they have learned from the whites. Letters, figures, characters, there are none existing among these people, and therefore they know of no mode of permanently handing down from generation to generation the great facts of the time. The

can only be founded on conjecture, and cannot extend far into the past; another race appears destined by Providence, not only to occupy the country; but to found its history in the stirring accounts of their enterprise and perseverance. The first records of Australia and its history must be therefore in the English tongue; and in all probability, hereafter, the very existence of any other than the Anglo-Saxon race there will become a matter of uncertainty. It is indeed sad to witness a people thus passing from creation, leaving no trace behind them of language, history, or even of their traditions.

The weapons of the Aborigines resemble those of New South Wales, and are chiefly composed of wood, bone, shells, and flint; iron is now in some cases substituted for the two latter in the formation of weapons. Since the settlement of the colony, almost every native has obtained a tomahawk—a long narrow kind of instrument, axc-like, with a flat head, of much use to them in ascending trees, cutting wood, and a variety of other ways.

The corrobory of the natives, a species of dance, similar to that practised in New South Wales, is always held at night by the light of great fires, and is a sight, once witnessed, never to be forgotten. An open space is chosen for the occasion, the males of the tribe ornament themselves specially for it with various coloured clays and other substances; formed into circles and lines, they whirl and move through the mazes of the dance—now rapid as they can, then with a slow movement, almost imperceptible—and anon breaking forth and rushing together, whilst they brandish in their hands pieces of wood, clashing them together as they meet. Various idols of the strangest

shapes and forms are elevated around ; meanwhile the women, seated in a circle, keep time with voice and pieces of stick, and the excitement progressing, the hoarse rough cry of the warriors joins in the chaunt, echoing in fearful unearthly yells through the vistas of the wide forest ; whilst the dark ground of their bodies developes in bold relief the red and white colour of the paint which they are smeared with. But it would be in vain to try to convey to paper an idea of a native corrobory ; to be appreciated, the scene must be witnessed amidst the vast old forests of Australia, with mighty gum trees lifting their heads high into the heavens, and their whitish boles reflecting back the glare of the Aboriginal fires.

In 1842, a number of the natives were formed into a mounted police force, under the command of Lieut. Dana. In many cases they have been found particularly useful in tracking offenders in the bush ; but they have, with their fire-arms, and uncivilized ideas, proved formidable enemies to many tribes with whom they have come into contact, as they carried out to the full the enmity existing between all native tribes, which dooms to death every unfortunate straggler that may be discovered. Entailing but little labour, this mode of life is quite consonant with their feelings, and the natives become much attached to it, riding well and fearlessly, and firing with unerring aim at any object they are directed to exercise their skill upon.

Among the stations of the interior are to be found many natives, who make themselves useful in a variety of ways, but chiefly in tracking lost cattle ; none however continue permanently at any of these places. A couple of hundred



also are generally in the vicinity of Melbourne: the inhabitants employing them in chopping wood and similar work. Followed by a numerous train of half-starved skeletons of dogs, they wander about, strangers and objects of surprise, in the midst of that country once their own, but over which their sway is no longer acknowledged; fast dropping into the grave, their race is nearly run.

Squatting is the chief mode in which land is occupied in Australia Felix, and the greater number of the proprietors of stock are located on waste Crown Lands, by right of an annual license, for which the sum of ten pounds per annum is paid. The squatter builds his slab, bark, or weather-board hut where a supply of fresh water is to be found, and around this depastures his herds and flocks alike on hill and dale. Up to a late period, the squatter had acquired no right either of pre-emption in case of sale or permanent occupation of the land he squatted on. He was merely a yearly tenant-at-will, liable to be got rid of at the expiration of the year, without notice, by having his license refused by the Commissioners, to whom the conservancy of the Crown Lands is entrusted; and these gentlemen, squatters themselves, were not particularly remarkable for their impartiality or justice in the management of the waste lands.

Not only had the squatter to pay an annual license, but he had also to pay a small assessment on his sheep, cattle and horses, which went to the General Revenue of the colony for the support of the police, &c. Up to 1844, the extent of individual squatting stations was not only in proportion to the extent of the squatters' stock, but also



dependent on the favoritism of the Crown Lands' Commissioner, for the district. For instance, a squatter may locate himself on a particular stream or creek, and obtain a license for his run; in some six months, another takes a fancy to a spot on the same creek, a few miles from the station of the first, and applies for a license. If the former squatter is a friend of the Commissioner, a few words in the ear of this official is sufficient to induce him to remove the new applicant's boundary to a considerable distance; but if not, the run of the squatter is often curtailed.

In 1844, the following regulations for the management of squatting licenses, and the curtailment of stations, were issued by Sir George Gipps, then Governor of the colony.

Colonial Secretary's Office,

April 1844.

#### DEPASTURING LICENSES.

With reference to the regulations of the 21st of May, 1839, and 14th of September, 1840, relative to the occupation of the Crown Lands beyond the boundaries of location. His Excellency the Governor, in consequence of the practice which has grown up of parties occupying several distinct stations under one license, has been pleased, with the advice of the Executive Council, to direct that parties occupying stations in separate districts, notwithstanding the same may be contiguous, shall be required in future to take out a separate license for each such district, and to pay the established fee of ten pounds for the same; and that no person shall in future be allowed to take up a

new station, either in the same district in which his stock may be depastured, or in any other, without having first obtained a separate license for the same under the recommendation of the Commissioner, and paid the fee of ten pounds thereon.

2nd. His Excellency, with the advice of the Executive Council, has further directed that, from and after the first day of July, 1845, a separate license must be taken out, and the fee of £10 paid thereon for each separate station or run occupied, even though situated in the same district.

3rd. No one station, within the meaning of these Regulations, is, after the 1st July, 1845, to consist of more than twenty square miles of area, unless it be rectified by the Commissioner that more is required for the quantity of sheep or cattle mentioned in the next paragraph.

4th. If the party desire to occupy more, and the Commissioner consider him entitled to such occupation, with reference to the quantity of stock possessed by him, or its probable increase within the ensuing three years, as well as the accommodation required by other parties, and the general interests of the public, an additional license must be taken out and paid for.

5th. Every station at a greater distance than seven miles from any other occupied by the same party, will be deemed a separate station within the meaning of these Regulations, even though the area occupied may not altogether exceed twenty square miles; and no one license

sheep or cattle equal to either 500 head of cattle or 4000 sheep.

6th. No station, or part of a station, previously occupied under a separate license, will be incorporated with, or added to the station of any licensed person, unless he pay for it the price of another license.

7th. In other respects, the Regulations referred to will remain in force.

By His Excellency's Command,

E. DEAS THOMPSON.

These Regulations were afterwards amended by the addition of the subjoined, proposed also to be enforced, on the approbation of the Secretary for the colonies, to whom they have to be submitted.

1st. Every squatter, after an occupation of five years, shall have an opportunity afforded to him of purchasing a portion of his run, not less than 320 acres for a homestead.

2nd. The value of any permanent and useful improvements which he may have made on the land shall be allowed to him ; but the land itself (exclusive of improvements) cannot be sold for less than the established minimum price of £1 per acre.

3rd. Any person who may have purchased a homestead, shall not be disturbed in the possession of his run during the following eight years. He must, however, continue to take out, for the unpurchased part of it, the usual license, and pay on it the usual fee of £10 per annum.

shall be attended with a similar advantage of being undisturbed for the next eight years; so that each successive purchase of 320 acres will act virtually as a renewal of an eight years' lease.

5th. The right of the Crown must, however, remain absolute, as it at present is, over all lands which have not been sold or granted; it being well understood that the Crown will not act capriciously or unequally, and will not depart from established practice except for the attainment of some public benefit.

6th. Persons who may not avail themselves within a certain period, to be hereafter fixed, of the advantage offered to them of purchasing a homestead, will be exposed to the danger of having any part of their run offered for sale, either at the pleasure of the Crown, or on the demand of an individual; the value of any useful and permanent improvements which they may have made on their lands will be secured to them, should a stranger become the purchaser.

7th. The person, whoever he may be, who purchases the homestead is to have the remainder of the run.

8th. All sales to be, as at present, by auction—the appraised value of useful and permanent improvements (which will be considered as the property of the former occupant) being added to the upset price of the land.

9th. As stated in the notice of the second of April, a license is not to cover more than 12,800 acres of land, unless it be certified by the Commissioner that the 12,800 acres are not sufficient to keep, in ordinary seasons, 4,000 sheep. No existing run is, however, to be reduced below 12,800 acres, on account of its being capable

of feeding more than 4,000 sheep; but if any licensed person have on his run more than 4,000 sheep, he is to pay one pound for every 1,000 above 4,000. A person, therefore, having on a run of twenty square miles 5,000 sheep, will not, as has been supposed, be required to take out two licenses, but will be charged an extra one pound for his license, or eleven pounds instead of ten pounds. If he has 8,000 sheep, he will be charged four pounds extra, or fourteen pounds in all. This is not stated in the notice of the 2nd of April, but it forms a part of the proposals which were sent home as before referred to.

For the last fifteen years, no set rule appears to have been laid down by the Colonial Office for the management of the waste Crown Lands of Australia. Each Governor, nay almost each year, brings forth new regulations, or a new system; as no permanency of plan exists, the occupiers have not, heretofore, felt much confidence in any one system.

Favour and injustice have, in extremes, both been frequently the lot of the squatter. Although they are the great producing class, and the chief proprietors of the main sources of the colony's wealth and prosperity, yet, by the Act of Parliament bestowing a partly Representative Legislature on New South Wales, the squatters were completely excluded from the franchise, and therefore remained unrepresented in that body which had their interest and fortunes at its disposal: another instance, if one were required, to prove the inutility of Great Britain, through her Parliament, legislating for distant colonies, whose circumstances and interests must be so little understood at home.

Heretofore, the squatters of New South Wales and Australia Felix have been looked upon as a class not permanently intended to occupy the soil, but rather as pioneers of civilization, who would, at a future time, give place to more general population and cultivation. The spirit of British colonization did not recognise the principle of a country being abandoned to a few thousand persons, who only desired to occupy it with their flocks and herds, and not render it available for the settlement of the surplus myriads of over-populated Britain.

And this certainly appears to have been the most just and politic idea: squatting should only be regarded as a state of transition, and never be recognised as ought else; although, for the time being, persons of this class have a right to be represented in the Assembly that governs them.

But orders in Council were lately laid before the Legislative Assembly to carry out the details of an Act of Parliament, passed in 1846, by which permanent leases are to be granted to the squatters of their locations. Fourteen years is the term of these proposed leases; but there can be but little doubt, if the measure is carried out and these leases granted, that it will, at any future time, be impossible to resume Crown Lands thus temporally alienated.

The population of New South Wales has, heretofore, doubled itself every seven years, and as its number, at present, falls little short of two hundred thousand, it would, at this ratio of increase, be eight hundred thousand in 1862, the period when these leases would fall out, supposing them to be granted in the ensuing year. A large proportion of this population would be deeply interested in preserving the interest of the squatters, acquired by lease, in the waste

Crown Lands of the country; and it is doubtful, if an attempt for the resumption of such was made, whether it would not lead to a collision between the colony and the mother country; and then, what could Great Britain do against eight hundred thousand of her children in such a distant quarter of the globe?

But, what will this lead to? The monopolization of a vast country by a few thousands, or tens of thousands, of inhabitants, for the mere depasturage of herds and flocks, like the plains and pampas of Buenos Ayres, when millions of the sons and daughters of Great Britain might be there settled in peace, plenty, and prosperity, extending the benefits of civilization, and planting another firm foundation for the erection of another mighty empire, a vigorous offshoot of the Anglo-Saxon race. There are, no doubt, in Australia Felix, millions of acres not calculated for agricultural purposes, but they form but a moderate proportion of the soil; an incalculable quantity of good land there is, capable, at once, of being used for the location of a large portion of the overplus population of Great Britain, and furnishing them with all the necessaries, if not the luxuries, of life.

This fine land should not be handed over for long terms of years to individuals to retain uncultivated; a right of pre-emption and remuneration, for permanent improvements, ought to be sufficient to satisfy the squatters, who certainly, as pioneers of civilization, have claims, not to be disregarded, on the Government of the country.

For the last three years it has been the habit to set up for public competition, from year to year, such sections of land, within the bounds of location, as have been surveyed, but



remain unsold. The upset price per section of six hundred and forty acres, is five pounds for the single year's tenancy, —no longer term is insured; at the end of that period, the land may either be sold or leased to another party, if he bids higher; but there is always this advantage for the occupant, that both sales and leases are effected by public auction, and, therefore, it is the fault of the present tenant if he be outbid.

Following in the footsteps of their brethren of New South Wales, the squatters of Australia Felix have always considered that, from occupation, they have acquired a species of permanent interest in the "runs" they occupy. At all times they have been in the habit of disposing of their "right of run," and transferring the license under which they occupied, although Sir George Gipps over and over again issued proclamations against the custom, cautioning the public of its illegality.

When a squatter disposes of his sheep and cattle, he usually disposes with them of the right of run, and this materially increases their value, making a difference of some three shillings per head in the price of sheep, and ten or twelve shillings in the value of cattle. Occupied as the length and breadth of the land has become with squatting stations, their value is becoming daily enhanced, as it may be said, that in the entire of Australia Felix, a dozen of advantageous well-watered runs, still unsettled, could not be found. Hundreds of pounds, nay even more, have been of late given for the right to extensive runs, and the squatters becoming tenacious of the boundaries of such, the law courts are frequently engaged in trying actions of trespass, arising out of intrusion by neighbours.

The boundaries of location in Australia Felix are, at present, confined to the three counties of Bourke, Grant, and Normanby; and however extensive these three districts may be, they comprise but a small portion of the entire vast extent of country known as Australia Felix. Without these bounds, there are none but squatters, there is no land sold beyond.

In 1843, towards the close of the year, according to the returns of the Commissioners, there were in the counties of Bourke, Grant, and Normanby, cattle, 19,419; horses, 1,349; pigs, 2,041; sheep, 185,322. In 1846 there were in these three counties, according to the similar returns, horned cattle, 30,629; horses, 3,156; pigs 2,612; sheep, 361,613.

Beyond the boundaries there were, on the 1st January, 1846, horned cattle, 200,973; horses, 7,133; pigs, 1,374; sheep, 1,530,914. This amount of stock, beyond the boundaries of location, was the property of eight hundred and ninety-five squatters, who paid, in the aggregate, for depasturing licenses, £11,184 10s. Some of these squatters held, in consequence of the amount of their stock, several distinct licenses; the most extensive being the late Marquis of Ailsa and a Mr. Hunter, as trustees for minors, for whom large investments were made in sheep and cattle. The number of sheep in the colony at the beginning of the past year, must have been little short of three millions, and of these, nine-tenths would be beyond the boundaries.

The life of a squatter is generally calm and unvaried, presenting little of the ills, and few of the cares of life, if he act with common prudence. If not dwelling at the most distant out-stations there is but little fear of

molestation from the Aborigines, as these unfortunates are becoming few in number and depressed in spirit. Once or twice a year the squatter visits Melbourne, Geelong, or Portland, to dispose of his wool, pay his license dues, and procure tea, sugar, slops, and such other stores as are required at his station. When at home, he is engaged in seeing that his shepherds and other servants perform their duty; and, in riding about his run, looking after his cattle, and taking care that none of them stray. A gallop after a native dog, a kangaroo, or emu, sometimes diversifies the sameness of this life. The majority of the squatters are single men; and this fact is generally apparent on approaching a station, by the neglect evident around. Although timber in abundance is at hand, yet the squatter often contents himself for years with a bark hut, or the roughest possible slab one, through which wind and weather penetrate; the richest land may be at hand, yet the mere trouble of cultivating a few potatoes, or vegetables, is but seldom taken, although they would form a great improvement to the general bush fare, —meat and damper. Rough huts for the men, and a detached one for the master, generally stand on the banks of some river, creek, or in the vicinity of water holes, the hurdle and folds for the sheep being at a short distance. It may be occasionally that a patch of wheat, or barley, is in sight, for the use of the station, but this even, is only the case when it is the head station. The absence of women, and scarcity of labour in the bush, is inimical to comfort there; but this is little considered, as the climate is so dry

But although the abodes of the squatters are generally indicative of neglect and carelessness, such is not always the case: domestic comfort is sought after by some, and brick, stone, or comfortable wooden houses erected, around which are gathered, in some instances, not only many of the comforts of life, but a happy family to enjoy them.

According to the census of 1846, there were dwelling beyond the bounds of location 9,411 persons, viz., males 6,950, females 2,461, or little more than one female to every three males. The disproportion of the sexes, if the adult portion of this population only was considered, would be much greater than is apparent by the above-mentioned return. Morality, therefore, is not much promoted: women are generally rather looked upon rather as an incumbrance, than otherwise at squatting stations, masters preferring males, even for the performance of domestic duties. This certainly does not tend to engender a healthy state of society, and it is much to be hoped, as population increases, that the habit will not be persevered in. Certainly women cannot be so useful as males at these squatting stations: they cannot even perform all the duties of hut keepers, shifting hurdles, sweeping folds, and watching the sheep at night; but they might be made available at cattle-stations, more especially where dairies are kept; and the presence of a female housewife would materially promote the comfort and content of both master and men, as well as their morality.

At present, from the males so very much exceeding in number the females, the services of the latter are rather expensive; a good female servant obtaining in Melbourne from twenty to twenty-five pounds per annum. This, of course, will not be the case when the population is considerably

increased, as no doubt it will be in the lapse of a few years, the country presenting so many and manifold advantages to the emigrant.

In the interior, or indeed any part of the country, all the roads are at present in little better than a state of nature; "Mc Adam" is unknown in Australia Felix. A few trees here and there are all that have been removed to make a passage, and this only in favoured localities; most frequently the track winds its tortuous course through the forests, as the most available path for progress presents itself.

The carriage of goods is most laborious and tedious, being chiefly performed by drays drawn by teams of eight, ten, and sometimes even twelve bullocks; the steadiness of draught of oxen being much superior to that of the horse. For weeks together these drays travel towards the seaport towns with wool, camping at night in the wide bush, where water and pasturage for the cattle is to be found. The men in charge make themselves comfortable beneath the shelter of the drays, with vast fires at a short distance to warm them or cook their pots of tea; the whites are not so saving of the wood as the Aborigines, and the track of their camping place is often visible for days afterwards, by the yet unexpired fires; a large dry tree having perhaps been ignited, and continuing to burn on for some length of time.

The expense and delay of land carriage is much felt by the squatters; but the lapse of many years only can amend it. There are no rivers navigable for any distance, except the Murray, and the mouth of that is inaccessible for craft of any size.

Yet, from the dividing range between Western Port and Gipps' Land, to the banks of the Glenelg, there are millions of acres of the richest cultivatable land, none of which is more than one hundred miles from the sea-coast, and greater part of it much less, offering easy access for the shipping of the produce raised upon this fertile tract, running east and west, and nearly parallel to the sea.

At the present time, Australia Felix, i.e. the Port Phillip, or Southern Districts, form a part of New South Wales, and are under the jurisdiction of the Governor of the elder colony, for the time being. A Superintendent or Lieutenant-Governor is, however, resident at Melbourne, who officiates as deputy to the potentate at Sydney. Sir Charles Fitz-Roy is the present Governor of New South Wales, and Mr. La Trobe is his representative at Melbourne. Although the latter gentleman has been, for some time, in the enjoyment of a salary of £1,500 per annum, yet he possesses no real power or authority, and does not even communicate with the Colonial Office, except through his superior at Sydney. The smallest matter of finance or local business is not within the power of the superintendent; all must be submitted at head-quarters; the deputy is in reality little more than a corresponding clerk, and so well does his position appear to be known to himself, that when the late Sir George Gipps was Governor of New South Wales, the superintendent was asserted to have styled himself "second fiddle" to Sir George; and whether true or false, through the agency of the Melbourne press, this official yet continues to be known under this designation in the colony.

The Administration and Executive are chiefly conducted by the

and subject to the heads of departments at Sydney. Cases of appeal, from the court of the resident judge at Melbourne, are entertained by the Sydney judges. The Executive body of Australia Felix, besides His Honor the Superintendent, consists of a Resident Judge, who is one of the Puisne Judges of the Supreme Court, Crown Prosecutor, Crown Solicitor, Deputy Sheriff, Deputy Treasurer, Deputy Postmaster, Deputy Collector of Customs, Harbour Master, Coroner, Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Clerk of Public Works, Deputy Commissary General, and their clerks and assistants. There are also several Police Magistrates, stationed at Geelong, Williams Town, Belfast, Portland; Crown Lands' Commissioners, five in number, who are in the commission of the peace, administer the waste lands; a Chief Protector and two Assistants are at the head of the Aboriginal establishment.

Thus there is at Melbourne, as the capital of Australia Felix, the complete organization of a government, which very readily might be transformed at once from deputies into heads of departments; for except sending all returns to Sydney, they have in reality heretofore had all the business in their own hands.

Besides the Municipal Police in Melbourne, there is a Rural Police, composed of mounted troopers picked from the foot regiments in New South Wales, and afterwards trained, or prisoners of the Crown who have been soldiers, before being transported. The expense of the Rural Police, for 1847, was set down at £3,200. Port Phillip is represented in the Legislative Assembly of New South



districts, and one by the town of Melbourne. The franchise and qualification have already been explained, and are similar to those of New South Wales.

Up to 1840, the communication between Sydney and Melbourne was by an overland mail every fortnight; so inadequate was this to the necessities of the colony that in 1842 a weekly mail was established, which left Sydney every Saturday afternoon, reaching Melbourne on the morning of that day week; thus covering each day upwards of one hundred miles. In 1844, postal communication was yet further increased, and a mail now runs twice a week, leaving either place every Tuesday and Friday, and on the morning of the seventh day reaching its destination. The entire distance is about six hundred and ten miles, although called six hundred and fifty; it is for the greater part traversed by an open vehicle drawn by two horses, half gig half tax-cart, carrying besides the driver and mails, two passengers; it has but two wheels and shafts, one horse being attached to an out-rigger. From Melbourne to Yass the road is nearly in its natural state, a distance of about four hundred miles; the various rivers are crossed by means of punts at particular points, where parties have set themselves down as public-house keepers, hoping to avail themselves of the passing traffic, which they certainly do, no small portion of the earnings of pastoral servants, journeying to Melbourne, after perhaps a years' service, being spent in these places; where the shepherd or stockman may be seen at times treating all that are around and will drink with him; not unfrequently even indulging in Champagne at 6s. a bottle.

per bottle ; much like the case of seamen, the money earned in the bush is lavishly spent, appearing to burn the very pocket of its possessor until he manages to get rid of it.

Besides the overland mail, a steamer runs monthly between Melbourne and Sydney, via Launceston. The generality of travellers prefer this mode of conveyance to the long and fatiguing direct land journey. The sea passage is often performed by vessels in three and four days, but the steamer calling at an intermediate port, the time is longer.

The great distance of the two capitals from each other, can well be understood as presenting a formidable barrier to the good government of both, under one head ; the wants and necessities of the subordinate not being duly appreciated from want of knowledge at head-quarters. For some years, indeed ever since 1841, the people of the Port Phillip district have been advocating and agitating for a separation from New South Wales, and for a distinct and independent Government. At first, their demand was founded chiefly on the fact, that New South Wales was a convict colony, established and settled with the felonry of Great Britain. That Australia Felix was founded and colonized with solely free persons, and its soil remained unsullied by convict pollution ; therefore, that the laws, government, and institutions suited for the one, were not at all calculated for the other. To this argument was soon superadded the more powerful ones of pecuniary and personal interests. Vast sums had been raised by the sale of waste lands in the colony, and these, it was understood, were solely to be applied for the benefit of the place from whence they were derived, in the introduction of labour, and local improve-

ments. . But these promises, as we have already shown, were not fulfilled. Something like £150,000, was thus wrung from the people of Australia Felix to introduce labour into the elder colony, to beautify Sydney, and open roads through the interior of the elder province.

But at last came the new constitution conferred on New South Wales; the old nominee body was disbanded, and of the representative members to the Assembly, Australia Felix sent six, viz.: Mr. Condell for Melbourne, and the Rev. Dr. Lang, Dr. Thomson, Mr. Ebdon, Dr. Nicholson, and Mr. Walker for the district. Two of these, Dr. Lang and Dr. Nicholson, had previously been unconnected with the Port Phillip district; yet zealously did they espouse the cause of separation, more especially the former, conspicuous for his talents, energy, and perseverance. Although a large number of the people opposed the Rev. Doctor's return, yet before three years, so imminent and striking had been his services to the colony in many ways, that a unanimous demonstration was held at Melbourne in 1846, to express to him the sense of his constituents, and their thanks for his labours. The Rev. Doctor is certainly rather violent and strong-headed in his religious feelings; yet on most public matters, concerning the colony, he has proved himself one of its ablest and most useful citizens.

From being previously merely a public question, "separation" became a Legislative one in 1844. During the session of that year—the second held by the new Legislative body—Dr. Lang brought forward a motion to this effect: "That an humble address be presented to her Majesty the Queen, praying that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to direct that the requisite steps may be taken for the

speedy and entire separation of the district of Port Phillip from the territory of New South Wales, and its erection into a separate and independent colony."

Although the motion was supported by the eloquence of the Rev. Doctor in a long speech, yet after a debate, it was lost, the Port Phillip members, and one Sydney member, alone voting for it.

Finding that nothing was to be expected from the Assembly, towards alienating such a wealthy dependancy as Australia Felix, the members for Port Phillip resolved to present a petition to the Queen, which was accordingly done in the early part of 1845, through his Excellency the Governor.

As this petition proved of such vital benefit to Australia Felix, in resolving the Colonial Office towards granting the required boon, the writer does not think he can do better than give it at length.

The draft of the petition itself was compiled and drawn up by the Rev. Dr. Lang, afterwards being approved of by the other members.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"We, your Majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, the undersigned members of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, representing the entire district of Port Phillip, beg leave to approach your Majesty with the assurance of our cordial attachment to your Majesty's royal person and Government.

"We humbly solicit permission to represent to your Majesty that, in our deliberate opinion, the district of Port

Phillip, which at present constitutes the southern portion of the colony of New South Wales, is peculiarly fitted,—as well from its superficial extent, its geographical position, and its other physical characteristics, as from the amount, respectability, and intelligence of its population, from its entire isolation from all other colonial communities, and from the comparatively high state of general advancement, which it has so speedily attained—for being a separate and independent colony.

“We beg, therefore, to submit to your Majesty, that the superficial extent of the district of Port Phillip is 139,500 square miles, while that of the undermentioned British Colonies is as follows: New Brunswick, square miles, 27,704; Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, 18,742 square miles; Prince Edward’s Island, 5,131 ditto; Newfoundland, 36,000 ditto; Colonies, British Guiana, 100,000 ditto; Jamaica, the largest of the colonies of the West Indies, 6,400 ditto; Trinidad, 2,400 ditto; Van Dieman’s Land, 24,000 ditto.

“Occupying as it does the south eastern angle of this vast continental island, the district of Port Phillip extends upwards of five hundred miles along the great Southern Ocean, from Cape Howe to the eastern boundary of South Australia, having the extensive harbour or inland sea, from which it derives its name and its peculiar commercial capabilities, as its natural outlet; and the town of Melbourne, its natural and proper capital, both nearly equi-distant from its eastern and western extremities; while the colony of New South Wales Proper commands the whole line of the eastern coast along the Pacific Ocean, having the magnificent harbour of Port Jackson as its natural outlet, and

the city of Sydney its natural and proper capital; the entire trade and commerce of the southern portion of the colony necessarily concentrating itself in and around the inlet of Port Phillip, while, that of the eastern portion, or Middle District, is necessarily concentrated in and around Port Jackson. The commercial relations of Port Phillip are, therefore, with London, not with any other portion of the Colony of New South Wales; and these relations are managed through the town of Melbourne, not through the City and Port of Sydney. In this peculiarity of its geographical position, your Majesty will doubtless recognise the essential difference of the case of Port Phillip, as regards New South Wales from that of Upper Canada, which had no port of its own for transatlantic commerce as regards the lower province of that colony.

“ From these physical characteristics of the district, your Majesty will perceive that the colonists of Port Phillip are entirely isolated from those of the Middle or Sydney District of New South Wales; as much so as they are from those of Van Dieman’s Land or Southern Australia. The community of Port Phillip, we beg leave to add, already comprises upwards of 25,000 souls, and is possessed of 2,000,000 sheep, 140,000 horned cattle, and 5,000 horses, besides a very large amount of other valuable property in vessels, buildings, and cultivated land; the ordinary revenue of the district, for the year 1843, having amounted to £61,343 14s. 8d., while the imports for that year amounted to £183,321, and the exports to £277,672. In such circumstances as this extraordinary development

submit to your Majesty, whether the district of Port Phillip is not fully and fairly entitled to the rank and position of a separate and independent Colony ; and whether the compulsory union of that district with New South Wales Proper, from the capital of which its own commercial capital and natural outlet is 600 miles distant, is not as unreasonable in itself as it is unjust to the inhabitants of Port Phillip, and opposed to the whole tenor and practice of British colonization. For we beg to remind your Majesty, that Port Phillip was originally settled, not from New South Wales, but from Van Dieman's Land ; the whole southern coast of this vast island having lain waste and unoccupied for nearly half a century after the original settlement of New South Wales ; and we humbly submit, that it is accordant with the uniform practice of your Majesty's predecessors, whenever separate and distinct colonial communities capable of self-government, have in any instance been formed within the nominal limits of any particular colonial territory, to erect such communities into separate and independent colonies, although of much more limited extent, and far less favourably circumstanced for the purpose, than that of Port Phillip. In accordance with this principle, the ancient colony of Virginia had two separate portions of its original territory cut off from it at two different periods, to form the colonies of Maryland to the north, and of Carolina to the southward ; and although the colonists of Virginia petitioned the Government of King Charles I. against the separation of Maryland from their territory, it was nevertheless effected. In accordance with this principle, also, the colony of Carolina was itself sub-



sequently divided into the two separate colonies of North and South Carolina, of which the latter was, at a still later period, subdivided by the establishment of the colony of Georgia within its original limits.

“But we would humbly beg to refer your Majesty to a much more recent and still more apposite precedent for the measure we have taken the liberty to recommend for Port Phillip, in the separation of Van Dieman’s Land from the colony of New South Wales in the year 1825 ; for although the island of Van Dieman’s Land is separated from the territory of New South Wales by Bass’s Straits, its two principal ports of Hobart Town and Launceston are virtually nearer Sydney than Port Phillip ; and in the year 1825, when Van Dieman’s Land was separated from New South Wales, and erected into a distinct and independent colony, the population and resources, the revenue and trade of that island were all inconsiderable and insignificant in comparison with those of Port Phillip at the present moment, as your Majesty will perceive from the following comparison of their respective statistics.

PORT PHILLIP IN 1843.

Population, 25,000.

	£	s.	d.
Ordinary Revenue . . . . .	61,343	14	8
Expenditure . . . . .	54,352	0	0
Imports . . . . .	183,321	0	0
Exports . . . . .	277,672	0	0
Sheep, 2,000,000.			
Cattle, 140,000.			
Horses, 5,000.			

## VAN DIEMAN'S LAND IN 1824.

Population, including 5,938 convicts, 12,643.

	£	s.	d.
Ordinary Revenue . . . . .	6,866	1	9
Expenditure . . . . .	23,126	16	11
Imports . . . . .	62,000	0	0
Sheep } Numbers in 1828, } 354,691.			
Cattle } } 84,476.			
Horses } Three years after separation, } 2,035.			

“ If it should be urged, in reply to these statements, that the comparatively recent union of the colonies of Upper Canada and Lower Canada, as well as those of Demerara and Berbice, respectively indicates a totally different policy on the part of the Imperial Government in the present day ; we humbly beg to submit to your Majesty, that the union of the Canadas was a case entirely *sui generis* ; the union of these provinces having become indispensably necessary as a measure of State policy, wisely intended to neutralize the great political evils arising from the presence of a large colonial population of foreign origin in Lower Canada. And as the union of the colonies of Demerara and Berbice, as the coast-line of these united colonies does not exceed two hundred miles altogether, it would have been impolitic in the extreme to have continued to maintain two separate colonial establishments within the comparatively narrow limits of British Guiana.

“ We humbly beg, moreover, to submit to your Majesty,

Wales, has already been virtually acknowledged by the Imperial Government—Port Phillip having all along had a Superintendent, a Resident Judge, and various other offices and establishments, to be found in no other subordinate district of the colony. And while this subordinate, inefficient, and unsatisfactory Government costs the inhabitants £44,748 9s. 3d. per annum, for a population of twenty-five thousand, the Government of the neighbouring colony of South Australia, precisely similar in its origin and pursuits, costs the inhabitants only £25,000 per annum, for a population of eighteen thousand thereby demonstrating that it is not true, as is commonly alleged by those who are opposed to the separation of Port Phillip from New South Wales, that the government of that district, as a separate and independent colony, would necessarily be much more expensive than it is at present.

“But the great practical grievance of which the inhabitants of Port Phillip universally, and, in our opinion, justly complain, as the result of the compulsory union of that district with the colony of New South Wales is the annual abstraction of a large portion of the proper revenue of the district, and its appropriation, under the authority of the Legislative Council, for purposes and objects in which the inhabitants of Port Phillip can have no interest, no concern; thereby retarding, indefinitely, the general advancement of the district, and the progressive development of its vast resources. For we beg to remind your Majesty, that Port Phillip has not only never cost, either the mother country or New South Wales, one farthing for its establishment or support; but a surplus of £176,000

of its land revenue, over and above the payment of the whole amount of immigration into Port Phillip, has gone into the general revenue of the colony, and been appropriated for the encouragement and support of immigration into New South Wales Proper, while the estimated ordinary revenue of the district, for the year 1845, exceeds the estimated expenditure for that year by no smaller an amount than £19,000, or thereabouts. It will thus appear to your Majesty, that although a representative system of Government has in so far been conceded to the colony of New South Wales, that concession, as far as the inhabitants of Port Phillip are concerned, is a mere mockery and delusion; the only service which the six members for that district can, under existing circumstances, render to their constituents, in a financial point of view, being to assist in the annual and unwarrantable abstraction of £19,000 per annum of their proper revenue, under the authority of the general Legislature. In such circumstances, your Majesty will not be surprised at the strenuous opposition which all the other members of the Legislative Council, save one, have hitherto exhibited towards the separation of Port Phillip; for so long as it is the interest of five-sixths of the members of that body to retain Port Phillip, in a state of vassalage and dependence under New South Wales, it is hopeless to expect either financial justice for that district from the General Legislature, or a recommendation of its erection into a separate and independent colony. But your Majesty will, doubtless, perceive that the case of Port Phillip is one really deserving of your Majesty's immediate interference in behalf of the inhabitants

we add, that although Port Phillip is allowed to return six representative members to the Colonial Legislature, not one of the six members actually returned is a resident in the district: for although the twenty-five thousand inhabitants of Port Phillip being almost exclusively recently arrived immigrants from the mother country, or from Van Dieman's Land, or New South Wales, and many of them men of superior intelligence and education, undoubtedly comprise a much larger number of fit and proper persons to represent the district than any other district of an equal amount of population in the colony, it has been found impracticable to obtain the services of a single resident proprietor, or inhabitant of the district, for the purpose,—men of the requisite intelligence and ability being either unable or unwilling to absent themselves from their families and establishments for five months successively every year to attend the meetings of a Colonial Legislature, at the distance of six or eight hundred miles from their usual places of residence.

“Highly, therefore, as we appreciate individually the honour of representing the constituency of a district whose rapid and general advancement in colonization is unprecedented in the history of your Majesty's vast empire, we cannot consent to continue to hold this honourable position without protesting against the injustice that is thus done our constituents, who, if they had a domestic legislature, would unquestionably be able to find among themselves many men of superior intelligence, equally able to manage their affairs with any of us, and far better acquainted with the wants and circumstances of the district than we, who are all resident in Sydney, can possibly be. Nor is this

the only evil to which our constituents are subjected from the great distance of Port Phillip, and especially the western portion of that district, from the seat of Government; for, as gentlemen of the requisite standing in society in that portion of the territory cannot be expected to attend the meetings of the select committees of the Legislative Council to give evidence in regard to its actual circumstances and more pressing wants, the business of legislature, as far as the interests of the district are concerned, is conducted in a great measure in the dark.

“On these grounds, we humbly pray that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to take the case of our constituents into your Majesty’s favourable consideration, and to order that the requisite steps may be taken for effecting the entire separation of the district of Port Phillip from New South Wales, and for its erection into a separate and independent colony.

“Reiterating the assurances of our cordial attachment to your Majesty’s royal person and Government,

“We have the honour to be,

“Your Majesty’s most loyal,

“J. P. ROBINSON.

CHARLES NICHOLSON, M.D.

JOHN DUNMORE LANG, D.D.

ADOLPHUS W. YOUNG.

THOMAS WALKER.

BENJAMIN BOYD.

“Sydney, December, 24th, 1844.”

of Lord Stanley, then Colonial Secretary; the truths in it were so many and so apparent, and the demand so strongly founded on facts, that in time a most gracious answer in the name of her Majesty was returned, and directions were given to examine witnesses before the Executive Council of the Colony, and in case their decision was in favour of the measure of separation, to suggest a boundary and form of Government for the district. The decision of the Executive Council was favourable, and the result of their labours being communicated to the Colonial Office, separation was decided on; but since then a change of Government has taken place, and although Lord Grey, the present Colonial Secretary, is favourable to the measure, it has not as yet been carried out, although no doubt the time is near at hand when it will, as the Port Phillipians are not a people to allow a conceded benefit to slip through their fingers without urgent and ardent representations.

Time is also required to mature any measure of Government, and as Lord Grey in the past Session of Parliament, has announced his intention of conferring on the Australian colonies a more full and complete measure of Representative Legislation, there is no doubt that the passing of this measure through Parliament is all that is awaited, before Port Phillip is erected into an independent, free, colony, governed by its own laws, and represented by its own citizens.

In connection with separation, perhaps the most important question that arises, is the settlement of a boundary for the colony. The opinions on this subject vary much: Lord John Russell, when Colonial Secretary, proposed that the Counties of Murray and St. Vincent, in New South



Wales, should be the north-east boundary, and then, as a continuation, the rivers Murrumbidgee and Murray, until the latter reached the South Australian boundary, the 141st parallel of longitude. This would, however, cut off from New South Wales a large portion of what has always been looked upon as the proper possessions of that colony, and with which the people of Australia Felix are totally unconnected by property, and are, moreover, separated by high and all but inaccessible ranges of mountains.

As an improvement on this, the Executive Council of New South Wales, recommended that a line of demarcation should be drawn from Cape Howe to the sources of the Hume River in the Snowy Mountains, and then along that river until it formed the Murray, continuing along the latter until it struck the South Australian boundary.

This would, on the other hand, be cutting off many thousand square miles from Australia Felix, including all the country between the Hume and Murrumbidgee Rivers; and, by essentially reducing the extent of the district, bring the northern boundary within one hundred and seventy miles of the capital; much too confined a space for an ultimately great and important country, as no doubt at some future period this will become.

The Town Council of Melbourne, interested for their adopted land, came forward with a suggestion on the point, certainly the most equitable of any proposed: viz. that a line should be drawn from Cape Howe, a bold projecting promontory on the south-east coast, to the summit of Mount Koschiusko, the highest of the Snowy Mountains, thence to the nearest source of the Tumut River, and along

that stream until it falls into the Murrumbidgee, along which and the Murray, the boundary should be continued to the South Australia territory. This would be creating, for nearly the entire extent of the frontier, a great natural and well-defined boundary, about which no mistake could arise, and it would also be preserving to Australia Felix, such an extent of territory as would make her important, and capable of supporting a large population; it would give her an area of something like 135,000 square miles, a much larger territory than most European nations possess, and considerably greater than Great Britain and Ireland united.

As an improvement on the boundary suggested by the Melbourne Town Council, His Honour the Superintendent of Port Phillip, Mr. La Trobe, proposed to extend the western boundary from the 141st parallel to the banks of the Murray, until it enters Lake Alexandrina, whence it flows into the sea. This would be cutting off a slice of the South Australian territory, but it would be of little importance to that colony, as but a small portion of the acquisition is of any value, being chiefly a barren desert shore; running from the mouth of the Glenelg River to Encounter Bay, into which Lake Alexandrina disembogues itself. Instead of the imaginary demarcation of the 141st parallel, a great natural boundary would thus be formed, and for the loss of soil, South Australia, as the Superintendent suggests, might be recompensed by a slice of the vast unpeopled waste regions to its westward or northward. It is more than probable that the recommendation of the Melbourne Council, with his Honour's addition, will be adopted; the colonists approved and advocated it, and

there can be no doubt that such appears to be the boundary marked out by the 'hand of Nature. The great rivers Murrumbidgee and Murray to the northward, and the great Southern Ocean to the southward, would almost completely enclose the colony, rendering it a compact and well-situated country, containing, from Cape Howe to Encounter Bay, nearly six hundred miles of sea coast, with many harbours, particularly the great estuary of Port Phillip, which is like a small inland sea. The length of this territory would be about four hundred and seventy miles, its breadth varying from two hundred to two hundred and sixty miles: this, of course, includes the newly-discovered region of Gipps' Land, as yet but partially settled, being divided from the rest of Australia Felix, by dense thick scrubby swamps, hills, and ranges.

## CHAPTER IV.

THE PRESS—CAUSES OF THE ILL SUCCESS OF MANY OF THE ORIGINAL EMIGRANTS TO PORT PHILLIP—PROSPECTS OF THE COLONY AND ITS NATURAL CAPABILITIES.

NOTHING exercises more influence over the prospects and interests of a young colony than its local press. When Port Phillip possessed but a few hundred inhabitants, and as soon as the Crown disposed of an acre of the soil, a paper was established at Melbourne, through the enterprise and exertion of Mr. John Pascoe Faulkner, one of the early settlers from Van Dieman's Land, and a man of much perseverance and industry. This first journal, which ultimately grew into importance, was the Port Phillip Patriot, at first published once a week, then twice, and at present daily. On the footsteps of Mr. Faulkner others followed, and the Gazette, Herald and Times, sprung up; the latter has, however, dropped, and given place to the Melbourne Argus, conducted by a Mr. Kerr, formerly editor of the Patriot, and a person of intellect and general information. The Argus, Herald, and Gazette, are, as well as the Patriot, published at Melbourne, each twice a week, except the latter, which as we have already stated, is a daily paper.

Geelong also has its journal in the shape of the Geelong Advertiser. Portland Bay has two weekly papers, the Portland Guardian and the Portland Advertiser; and a journal has in the present year been started at Belfast—the Port Fairy Township. Thus there are no less than eight local papers, supported by a population of 32,000 persons, or rather indeed by 23,000; as the 9,000 inhabitants beyond the limits of location, from the want of internal carriage, contribute but little support to any of the papers.

It is much to be regretted that the Port Phillip journals partake so largely of the besetting sin of local papers—viz., low personality and scurrility: in this, although conducted with talent, the Melbourne papers are conspicuous, and have done serious injury to the district,—not alone, through their personalities disgusting individuals, and preventing them from settling there, but by exciting and sustaining a spirit of religious and sectional hatred, which has been carried to extreme lengths: leading on one side to the formation of Orange Societies, on the principles of the Irish societies of that name, and on the other, to the growth of secret bodies partaking of the character of the Ribbon and Terry-Alt associations of the south of Ireland. There was a time in Melbourne when these things were unknown, but the local journals, having created the flame of discord, fanned it to its present excess. Between themselves, as editors, the amenities of life are frequently all but forgotten.

In a limited community, the evils of a scurrilous press are particularly felt; it especially tends to lower the moral tone of society; and it is to be hoped that with the influx of population, the spirit and nature of the press of

Australia Felix will in this respect, be amended. The public good should at all times be the pole-star and main element guiding the pen of a colonial editor; but, like unto most other callings, personal interest and jealousies but too often usurp the sway. There is no stamp or advertisement duty levied on the Australian press.

During the years 1840 and 1841, very many men of moderate capital and highly respectable character were attracted to settle in Australia Felix, amongst others numerous retired officers of the army and navy. The ill success of a great proportion of these—some of whom subsequently returned to England—has had the effect of deterring others from trusting their fortunes in the same country; but an exposition of the facts will soon show that their failure was not owing to any natural fault of the colony. Through circumstances already noticed, land at that period had attained a great and unnatural price; the quantity surveyed, also, was limited, and a considerable portion of that none of the best. A very great number of new-comers at once rushed into the land market, in competition with speculators, giving absurd prices for allotments and sections on which to settle. These purchases, in most cases, were made without reference to the quantity of timber on them, and what it would be necessary to expend in clearing. The writer is himself aware of instances in which five and six pounds per acre was given for sections near Melbourne, which afterwards cost as much as twelve pounds per acre in clearing alone. The purchasers at the time never considered that in the

come into competition with the squatter, who possessed thousands of acres fit for the plough at the cost of his license merely. The inevitable recurrence to cheap land, at one pound per acre, was also overlooked. Wheat, potatoes, and all other requisites of life, being high in price, the main object was at once to become a producer, and profit by the state of affairs.

Thus was the first great and important step of the settler taken in haste, ignorance, and error: land of inferior quality, or badly situated, was bought at an extraordinary price; but as a single defined instance will tend, perhaps, more distinctly to set forth the errors of the mass of settlers of that period, the writer will give one. Amongst the many arrivals in the colony towards the close of 1840, was a retired officer of the army, Major W——. This gentleman, an Irishman, had spent many years in India, and had around him a family, mostly natives of that country. He was a widower, and possessed in the aggregate some £9,000 on first landing.

Following the example of those around, no time was lost in looking out for land, and Major W—— became the purchaser of about four hundred acres, within eight miles of Melbourne, on the Darebin Creek, upon which it had a narrow frontage. The land was bought from a Sydney land speculator, at the rate of about £7 per acre. That portion near the creek was heavily timbered with vast knarled blue gums, and studded with large boulder stones, the vestiges of former volcanic action. The upper portion was almost a bush, thickly timbered with mimosa, white gums, bastard box, &c., the soil being a heavy loam.



a very light scale of vegetable deposit on the surface; that of the lower part, lying flat, was chiefly a collection of crab holes of stiff tenacious white clay.

No sooner was the purchase effected, than operations on it were commenced. First of all it was necessary to build a house for the proprietor's family, who remained in Melbourne until this was done. Accordingly, a large spacious building of two stories was begun, with handsome verandahs in front. Materials and mechanical labour were then excessively high: bricks £4 per thousand, and they had to be brought from Melbourne; carpenters and bricklayers were also getting 12s. or 14s. per day, with rations besides.

Then there were paddocks for cultivation to be cleared. The Major, who was a religious moral man, eschewed all old convicts, or persons who had been long in the country, and employed some eight or ten emigrants who had come out in the ship with him, at wages varying from £30 to £50 per year: most of these had wives and children, who drew their rations also from the employer. Wearisome was the labour of clearing the first paddock, and long the time it occupied; the men were unaccustomed to the work, and progressed much more slowly with it, than "old hands" in the country would have done. At this period all kinds of provisions were high, and the support of so many people seriously encroached day by day on the Major's funds.

At length the paddock ~~was~~ cleared, and sown with wheat and oats, potatoes too were put in, and it was fenced round with the felled trees and their branches.

Cattle at the time were very dear, but nothing deterred by the price, the Major bought a herd of about two hundred, at

between £7 and £8 per head. These were brought to the farm, and being, as usual with such cattle, rather wild, they were grazed during the day in charge of a man on horseback, and yarded at night in the stockyard. A dairy station was then attempted; but so near Melbourne, pasturage was scanty, the country being overrun with stock; so the few pounds of butter weekly produced scarce paid the dairy woman's wages.

Himself a stranger to farming operations, money was constantly frittered away by Major W—— in purposes from which no advantageous result could be expected in the shape of returns. Months passed away, and harvest time came round; but long before this all hopes of a crop had vanished; the soil itself not only was of bad quality, but having merely a bad brush fence around, the cattle made easy inroads into the enclosure, and soon disposed of every green blade that appeared above the surface. Many of the herd of cattle had been lost, and a considerable number were killed for the consumption of the station; so that at the year's end, after the outlay of almost the entire of his capital in land, clearing, house building, fencing, and the purchase of stock, the new settler was left with about three-fourths of his cattle, no crop from his land, and a splendid house just finished, which he now discovered he did not require, and was fain to let at such a rent to a friend as would scarce pay two per cent. on the money expended in its erection.

The paddock being declared unfit for cultivation, down to the bank of the creek, the Major changed his ground. With the balance of his capital, a large wooden house was

the work of clearing was to be done, and the removal of the gnarled blue gums, and huge boulder rocks, was certainly not effected at a less cost than £20 per acre.

Another crop was then put in, and turned out more successful than the first; but by the time it was reaped, all kinds of provisions had fallen considerably in value,—wheat from 10s. to 4s. 6d. per bushel, and potatoes from £14 to £5 per ton. Throughout more than two years, the Major retained around him the greater number of the servants he had originally engaged; but when the second crop was found to make but a poor return for the outlay, and money became scarce, from necessity these had to be dismissed; and in 1843, Major W—— was as discontented and unsuccessful a settler as could well be found in any part of the world; grumbling with the colony, and finding fault with the country, when the entire cause of all lay in his own ignorance and want of common foresight. Although possessed of £9,000, when he came to the colony in 1840, yet it is much to be doubted if his entire farm, houses, improvements, and cattle, on which he had expended this sum, would have brought £1,500 if disposed of in 1844.

Fifty instances such as this could be adduced by the writer, to prove the folly of emigrants at once rushing blindly into undertakings in a new country. They should first gain information, and weigh well the outlay on any engagement against the probable returns.

In 1840, the Australian colonies were in a peculiar position; such a one, indeed, as can never recur. The three great colonies of South Australia, Australia Felix, and New Zealand, founded but a short time before, were attracting

numbers of capitalists, traders, and others from Europe, for the purpose of settling ; whilst New South Wales was just recovering from the effects of a long and severe drought, which had raised all the necessaries of life to an exorbitant price. The demand from the new colonies for stock was such, that the price increased threefold in Australia Felix ; working bullocks were £40 per pair ; dairy cattle £10 per head ; sheep 20s. to 30s. ; prime ewes and rough cattle, by the herd, £5 to £8 per head ; horses brought from £50 to £100 each.

The demand for land through speculation, had raised it, in consequence of the inadequate supply, from £1 to £10 per acre for ground near the towns, and all other was in proportion ; wages for artisans were from 12s. even up to £1 per day ; building materials excessively dear ; and common labour worth £1 per week, besides board and lodging.

To build, to purchase stock, to buy land and improve it at such a time, involved a great outlay ; and common foresight should have warned the simplest that it would not do, as the then state of matters could not continue. Artisans and labourers were arriving by thousands from England ; wheat was being imported from South America, and cattle and sheep were blackening the plains on the overland route from New South Wales. The market, it was clear, must soon be glutted with all these, yet hundreds were found, who in the excitement of the moment, casting prudence aside, rushed into the vortex caused by peculiar circumstances—had their means and prospects ruined—afterwards attributing the fault to the country,

The old system of disposing of and managing the Crown lands of the colony; no doubt had a main share in the ruin and ill success of many colonists. But such a cause cannot again operate against the emigrant; the permanency of occupation conceded to the squatter, under the Act of Parliament passed in the session of 1846, must always have the effect of keeping land low in price. The increased facilities of purchasing, will also tend to this point: the only thing now required is, that the Executive should dispose of the soil in small farms—say from fifty to two hundred acres—not only in the suburban districts, but also further out. This would materially facilitate the settlement of a class of small cultivators; indeed, after a few years of saving, it would place it in the power of even the shepherd or agricultural labourer to establish himself on his own account.

Towards the close of 1845, a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales was appointed to inquire into, and point out the best means of promoting emigration to the colony. In their report there are many valuable recommendations and truths, but nothing more important than their remarks upon the settlement of a small class of cultivators; they say—"The demand for labour in the employment here referred to\* is most urgent, and the deprivation of it can only be met by the destruction of the flocks and herds of the colony, an alternative not less disastrous to the colonists obliged to have recourse to this sacrifice, than injurious to British commerce. When, owing to the high rate of wages, a flock-master is

\* Shepherding and stock keeping.



driven to the necessity of converting into tallow, for which he probably realizes not more than five shillings per sheep, whose annual fleece *ought* to furnish him with a net revenue of two shillings, or two shillings and sixpence, he adopts a step, the consequences of which are the extinction of his own capital, and a diminution of an exportable product of the colony, the supply of which is intimately connected with the interests of British manufacture.

“It is not merely for this class of labourers (shepherds and stockmen) only, that the colony holds out advantages to such as are disposed to emigrate to it. Your Committee are satisfied that a great and almost boundless field exists for the settlement of a description of men intermediate between the labourer and flock-master, and who, when once established on the soil, would constitute a class of yeomanry and small farmers.

“Your Committee would indeed consider the resources or prospects of the colony as limited to an extent much to be regretted, if confined only to the advantageous settlement of but two classes—that is, the larger proprietor and the labourer. They are, however, satisfied that no British colony possesses superior, or probably equal advantages to those presented by New South Wales to that description of small capitalists, who emigrate in such numbers to North America, and who investing the greater part of their means in the acquisition of a piece of land, rely upon bringing it into cultivation, chiefly through the labour of their own hands and that of their families.

“Emigrants arriving in the colony, bringing with them a small capital and habits of industry, *would constitute a social grade in colonial society, of which it is, at the*

*present moment, to a great extent deficient.* A boundless expanse of land, available for culture, exists in the various divisions of the colony. ‘Australia Felix,’ *generally*, may be said *to be eminently adapted for the settlement of an agricultural population*; the evidence on this point is so ample and conclusive, and is furnished by such a multitude of witnesses, it would be quite superogatory to dwell upon it in this report; it may, however, be remarked as a peculiar feature in the Australia Felix lands, that tracts best adapted for the plough are naturally clear of brush-wood and timber.”

As tending considerably to the information of the reader, the author considers it would not be out of place to give some extracts from the evidence taken before this Committee of the Assembly, with regard to the facilities and capabilities New South Wales, and especially “Australia Felix,” offer to the emigrant, and the population the latter could support.

Thomas Walker, Esq., merchant of Sydney, and former Member of Council for the Port Phillip district, appeared and gave evidence before the Committee, August 29th, 1845.

*Question.* You have resided in the colony for a number of years?

*Answer.* Yes; for upwards of twenty.

Q. And have had opportunities of becoming extensively acquainted with the character and wants of the country?

A. Yes; particularly so.

Q. Do you think it capable of supporting a consider-



Q. Do you consider it a favourable field for immigration generally?

A. I certainly do.

Q. What parts of the colony would you particularize as presenting the most eligible localities for settling immigrants?

A. Throughout the interior, a considerable population may be maintained by pastoral pursuits; and the coast districts are capable of maintaining a very large agricultural population; there is a great variety of climate.

Q. Are there not large alluvial tracts on the banks of rivers in this colony, which would support a very numerous population?

A. Unquestionably there are.

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Q. What do you think of the valley of the Murray, the largest of our rivers, two thousand miles long?

A. That is in the interior.

Q. Then there is the Bega country?

A. Yes; and I could not think of finishing my enumeration of agricultural tracts without including Australia Felix, in which district there is an immense extent of country suitable for agricultural purposes, and for the maintenance of a dense population, and which has been so well described by Sir Thomas Mitchell, the Surveyor-General of the colony, as "a region more extensive than Great Britain, equally rich in point of soil, which now lies ready for the plough in many parts, as if especially prepared by the Creator for the industrious hands of Englishmen;" and there is the whole of Gipps' Land of a similar character.

Q. You have been to various parts of the globe; do you think Australia Felix is equal to the average of European countries, with respect to its capability of supporting a population?

A. Yes—in point of soil; the great drawback is the deficiency of surface water. The country, in my opinion, is capable of maintaining a much larger population than we are likely to have in it for centuries to come; and when it has been peopled to a certain point, artificial means will be resorted to, to secure an adequate supply of water.

Q. What, then, is your opinion of the eligibility of that country (Australia Felix) for the settlement of an agricultural population?

A. I think it is particularly well adapted for an agricultural population; the climate is better than in this part of the colony (Sydney districts), and they have more rain.

James Malcolm, Esq., an extensive settler and stock-prieter in the Port Phillip district, in which he was one of the first settlers, having crossed from Van Dieman's Land, was also examined, and speaks yet more decidedly of the advantages of Australia Felix, or Port Phillip.

Q. What population do you think the district of Port Phillip is capable of maintaining?

A. I cannot well answer that question; I should say, certainly a very large population!

Q. Do you think any given area in that district, would support as large a population as a similar area in any part of Great Britain?

A. I think it would; I have been through many parts

of England—through the county of Kent and other agricultural counties—and also through Scotland, and I have seen in Port Phillip, large tracts of land as rich as any I have seen in Great Britain.

Q. Equal to the very best parts of Great Britain?

A. Yes. The district from Lake Colac, for about two hundred miles, is very rich. I do not think there is richer land in any part of the world; it is as good land as ever plough was put into.

Q. And already cleared?

A. Yes, there are thousands of acres adjoining Lake Colac clear of timber, and of the richest land I ever walked or rode over; it is about forty-five miles from Geelong, between that and Portland.

Q. Is it well supplied with water?

A. Yes; with streams and lakes, one of which is twenty miles in circumference.

Q. You are of opinion then, that the field is almost unlimited for the eligible settlement of immigrants?

A. I should say so; all the way to Port Fairy and the Glenelg River, is as good as the part I have spoken of, taking the south side of the lakes; the other side is not so good, but it is a good grazing country. I have been over a tract of country extending from Lake Colac to Portland Bay, which I never saw the like of; a great part of it is too rich for sheep.

Q. Do you think the district of Port Phillip would afford an eligible field for the settlement of small farmers, who might arrive with their families, bringing with them a small capital?

A. I think there is no part of the world where persons

of that class could do better than in Port Phillip; I am agent for several gentlemen who have lands in that district, and let out a considerable portion in small farms; many of my shepherds, after they have been a few years in service, have saved perhaps one or two hundred pounds, and turned farmers on their own account.

Q. Is the tract of country, of which you have spoken, on the borders of Lake Colac subject to drought?

A. No, there are regular rains; it was nine years, last May, since I went to Port Phillip, and during that time we have always had regular rains: I have a farm within sixteen miles of Melbourne, from which I have had, during the last four years, excellent crops.

Mr. Malcolm, in his evidence, then proceeded to state the average of his crops; wheat he set down average thirty bushels per statute acre; barley, forty; the wheat weighed upwards of sixty pounds per bushel; the barley, fifty-three. He also considered that the small cultivator could grow wheat, to pay, at four shillings per bushel; a few more extracts from this gentleman's evidence will be useful:—

Q. Do you know many instances where immigrants who have come out as labourers, have succeeded in establishing themselves as farmers, stock-holders, or land-owners?

A. Yes, several in my own employ have done so.

Q. Are there numerous instances of the kind?

A. I have known a good many.

Q. Are there not some instances at Port Phillip, of persons who have come out in the class of immigrants, who have accumulated from the high rate of wages, so much as to be able to buy their masters' property?

A. I have known some instances where, if the servant has not been able to buy the master's property, he has been able to buy sheep, and to commence on his own account. The best man for the squatter, was he who went into the town and spent his money as fast as he earned it, for he had then to come back again, either to his former master or some one else. There is not a shepherd long in the district who might not have been his own master, if he had saved his money.

Q. Do you think if the labouring population generally in Port Phillip were to abstain from extravagance, they might become independent?

A. They might all become so; I have known many immigrants who have saved money and taken farms; I have also known not a few instances of persons of this class clubbing together for the purchase of sheep or other stock, till they were able to divide it, and go each upon his own hands; in one instance, two brothers joined together, and purchased a few sheep, one shepherded while the other kept the hut, they thus managed the sheep between them, and they are now men of property; the expirée convicts from Van Dieman's Land very seldom save money.

Such is the gist of the evidence of a person who had peculiar knowledge of the country, and could compare it with other colonies, having been settled in Van Dieman's Land for some years; the glowing prospects held forth are not too highly coloured; industry is all required to realize them. From the evidence of one other gentleman, the author will give an extract—valuable as being a comparison of the colony with Canada by a competent

William Dumaresq, Esq., Member of Council, examined.

Q. You have been engaged, to a considerable extent, in agricultural and pastoral pursuits?

A. In pastoral pursuits I have.

Q. Are you able to speak of the character of the colony in respect to the prospects of emigrants to this colony, as compared with the prospects of persons emigrating to Canada?

A. I consider this to be one of the most favorable countries I have seen for the purpose of emigration: I was three years in Canada, and was not by any means pleased with that country, as one holding out favourable prospects for emigrants. I formed that opinion principally from the consideration, that during more than half the year, the ground is covered with snow, so that field operations cannot be carried on, and during all that time of comparative idleness, men acquire habits not advantageous to them as settlers. I was employed with my company of the Royal Staff Corps, in making the Canal of the Ottawa, to which work the Government sent all the emigrants that arrived at that time. The workmen were all discharged in the month of October or November, and from that time till about May, no works were carried on. During this interval of time, the recently arrived settlers could do nothing but fell the trees on their little plots of ground, and build their huts as the snow disappeared. They planted their potatoes, and came again to the canal works for employment in the summer. This country, on the contrary, is open for the constant employment of labour all the year round.

Q. Is the summer as hot in Canada as it is here?

A. No, I should not say it was.

Q. Is the heat of the summer there, a damp or a dry heat—is it oppressive?

A. It is very hot during the day and oppressive, from the rapid evaporation of a moist surface.

In the many advantages Australia Felix possesses over Canada, the writer fully agrees; but, above all, health is the chief one: the dry elastic atmosphere of the former, being much preferable to the humid heats and piercing cold of the British North American possessions, as the author can declare from personal experience.

There are, indeed, few advantages that this country, truly called "Felix," does not naturally possess, if the partial want, in some places, of surface water be excepted. In speaking of its soil, one witness before the Committee of the Assembly says, "richer land never crow flew over, than in some parts of Port Phillip;" another, a Mr. Holland, speaks by way of comparison, and says—"I am of opinion that the western district of Port Phillip is *capable of supporting as dense a population as any part of England.*" But it is not to such produce as is grown in Great Britain, that the soil of this splendid land need be confined. It is not intended either by a beneficent Providence, that the country left almost in its primitive state, should be merely depastured by flocks and herds, whose flesh can only be disposed of, by being melted down into tallow. Flax, silk, wine, cotton, tobacco of the best quality, besides many other valuable articles of commerce, could all be raised in perfection, and at no distant period, go far to supply the wants of the mother country. Even in mineral wealth there is nothing wanting; coal abounds in many places,



iron is common all over the country, and the late discoveries of copper, lead, and tin in great abundance, present prospects for the future, that can scarcely be equalled—certainly not surpassed.

And then a separate representative Legislature is about to be bestowed upon the colony; the chains that bound it to its elder brother are about to be riven, and the land of felony to be separated from that of the free.

The world's surface has been traversed by the writer in almost every direction, but never did he view a country of such natural fertility, and possessing so many advantages, as Australia Felix. Society here also surpasses that of many other new countries. The great body of the settlers are either retired officers, or the younger sons of respectable families in Great Britain and Ireland, who have sought this distant land to push their fortunes: men of talent, energy and perseverance, fit pioneers of civilization.

The immense proportion of the free population to the few convicts in the district, from its original settlement, has had the effect of preserving in a great measure, the morality and character of the inhabitants. This has, in many instances, been exemplified by the protests of the population against the introduction of felony in any shape; and it is now only, driven to the last extremity, that the settlers and squatters are obliged to avail themselves of the labour afforded to them from month to month, by the progress of the probation system, in the neighbouring island of Van Dieman's Land; otherwise their flocks and herds must range untended, and be lost in the wide

regions of the interior: Great Britain not thinking fit to aid any portion of her virtuous population, in seeking plenty and contentment in this land of abundance. Owing to the new system of permanency of tenure for the squatters, the Revenue from the sale of waste Crown Lands, which would be available for the purposes of immigration, must continue to be very limited, for few will purchase largely, when they can rent so cheaply from the Crown; the right of pre-emption being also afforded, if even their tenancy is put up for sale. Great Britain and Ireland have their workhouses crowded with able-bodied paupers, and in some instances their agricultural poor are reduced to such low wages, as to be obliged to eke out their subsistence by out-door parish aid. What a blessing for those people, and what a relief to their country would it not be, if they were settled in a land of such fertility as Australia Felix, which only requires *labour* to develope and expand its varied and great resources!

Driven to extremes for want of labour, within the last six months, in June, 1847, a steamer, the *Juno*, has been laid on between Sydney and the New Hebrides, to convey labourers from these islands; and these very labourers are none other than cannibals, practisers of infanticide, savages sunk in the lowest depths of ignorance and barbarism. No doubt some of these will find their way to Port Phillip, as amongst the first importers, are persons who possess large herds and flocks in that district. But it is to be hoped the evil will not extend far, but be checked in the bud, and that some great Government

measure of emigration, will save the colonists from such a dire necessity.

A few suggestions for the promotion of emigration, the author had intended to offer here, but as they are not fully matured, they will be reserved for the concluding portion of the second volume of this work.

END OF VOL. I.

